

Also, a bill (H. R. 9182) for the relief of the heirs of William Davis; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 9183) for the relief of Susan A. Johnson; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 9184) granting an increase of pension to Morgan C. Story; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 9185) granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Johnson; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. B. 9186) granting a pension to Alada Thurston Paddock Mills; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. DOOLITTLE: A bill (H. R. 9187) granting an increase of pension to Robert S. McCreary; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. DOREMUS: A bill (H. R. 9188) granting a pension to John Zanger; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. GEORGE W. FAIRCHILD: A bill (H. R. 9189) granting an increase of pension to John Bush; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. FULLER of Massachusetts: A bill (H. R. 9191) granting an increase of pension to Henry D. Moulton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. KEATING: A bill (H. R. 9192) granting an increase of pension to Martin Brenaman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 9193) granting a pension to Charles McFry; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. KETTNER: A bill (H. R. 9194) granting an increase of pension to Joseph Monk; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 9195) granting an increase of pension to James Garnett; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LANGLEY: A bill (H. R. 9196) granting a pension to Polly Fields; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 9197) granting an increase of pension to John W. Walker; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LARSEN: A bill (H. R. 9198) granting a pension to Elizabeth C. Thompson; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. LESHER: A bill (H. R. 9199) granting an increase of pension to Jacob R. Shotwell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LONERGAN: A bill (H. R. 9200) granting a pension to Melissa C. Lewis; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LUNN: A bill (H. R. 9201) granting an increase of pension to Alfred Ashton; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. McARTHUR: A bill (H. R. 9202) granting a pension to George Bales; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. McFADDEN: A bill (H. R. 9203) granting an increase of pension to Eli Ingraham; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania: A bill (H. R. 9204) for the relief of the American Fire Insurance Co. of Philadelphia, Pa., and others; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. OSBORNE: A bill (H. R. 9205) granting a pension to Mary A. Brannan; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 9206) granting a pension to Mary E. Sewright; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. OVERMYER: A bill (H. R. 9207) granting an increase of pension to Joshua W. Reed; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 9208) granting a pension to Nettie Wise; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. ROSE: A bill (H. R. 9209) granting an increase of pension to Martin S. Bortz; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 9210) granting a pension to Leah A. Beltz, daughter of Adam Beltz; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SELLS: A bill (H. R. 9211) granting a pension to Mary E. Hartsell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. TALBOTT: A bill (H. R. 9212) granting a pension to Charles B. McConn; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. WALSH: A bill (H. R. 9213) granting an increase of pension to Peter Black; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. ZIHLMAN: A bill (H. R. 9214) granting an increase of pension to John Fesler; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. CARY: Memorial of the faculty of the University of Wisconsin, relative to support for the program of the President in securing world peace; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, petition of Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union of America, against universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, petitions of Massachusetts Dairymen's Association; National Society, Sons and Daughters of the Pilgrims; Haverhill Chamber of Commerce, Haverhill, Mass.; and Enoch Pratt Free Library of Baltimore, Md., against increase of rates on second-class mail; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of railway postal clerks of Sacramento, Cal., favoring increase of salary; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. DARROW: Petition of Manufacturers' Association of West Philadelphia, Pa., protesting against Fuel Administrator's order; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. FULLER of Illinois: Petition of the Tuthill Spring Co., of Chicago, opposing repeal of the second-class postage provisions of the war-revenue act; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. GALLIVAN: Memorial of council of the Massachusetts State Board of Trade, urging Government to make port of Boston a port of embarkation of troops, etc.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of Lithuanians of the State of Massachusetts, favoring independence for Lithuania; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. LUFKIN: Petition of members of Post 114, Grand Army of the Republic, of Merrimac, Mass., asking increase of pension for veterans of the Civil War; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania: Petitions of Pennsylvania Manufacturers' Association and Knit Goods War Service Committee of the National Association of Hosiery and Underwear Manufacturers, protesting against action of Fuel Administrator in closing industrial plants; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. NOLAN: Petition of Mutual Aid Association, San Francisco Fire Department, favoring Madden bill, H. R. 1654; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, petition of John A. O'Connell, secretary San Francisco Labor Council, favoring Madden bill, H. R. 1654; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. OSBORNE: Petition of California Loyal Legion, Veterans of the Civil War, protesting against newspapers being published in the language of alien enemies, etc.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, petitions of sundry business people of the State of California, protesting against recent order of the Fuel Administrator relative to suspending industrial concerns; to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, memorial of Half Century Association, of Los Angeles, Cal., favoring creation of a Federal interest commission; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. TIMBERLAKE: Petition of Francis Bailey, president Entrenour Club, against increase in postage on certain periodicals; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. TREADWAY: Memorial of executive council of the Massachusetts State Board of Trade relative to use of the Port of Boston by the Government; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

SENATE.

THURSDAY, January 24, 1918.

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, in these trying days that test the fiber of our national life we are thinking most of all of our national spirit. We thank Thee for the boundless wealth of all that means force and power, but we pray that these may be transmuted into instruments of divine efficiency through the spirit of a great Nation. As the ark of the national life moves forward may no one lay unclean hands upon it, but give to us such a national spirit as that its working out to victory may be the accomplishment of the divine plan in us and through us for the establishment once more of freedom and order in the world and the creation of a great democracy of nations. For Christ's sake. Amen.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of the proceedings of Monday last, when, on request of Mr. KING and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with and the Journal was approved.

WARNING TO OCCUPANTS OF THE GALLERIES.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair desires to call the attention of the occupants of the galleries to the rule of the Senate that there must be no manifestations of approval or disapproval upon the part of the galleries. This is a rule which the Presiding Officer is compelled to enforce. It has frequently been broken lately. The only way to enforce it is to clear the gal-

leries if there is a violation. Before the proceedings of this day start the Chair wants to warn you that if you do not observe the rule, being the guests of the Senate, you will be excluded from the galleries.

SENATOR FROM NEVADA.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, Hon. CHARLES B. HENDERSON, appointed a Senator from the State of Nevada, is in the Chamber and ready to take the oath of office. I present to the Senate his credentials and ask that they may be read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the credentials.

The Secretary read as follows:

STATE OF NEVADA, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

To the PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES:

This is to certify that, pursuant to the power vested in me by the Constitution of the United States and the laws of the State of Nevada, I, Emmet D. Boyle, the governor of said State, do hereby appoint CHARLES B. HENDERSON a Senator from said State to represent said State in the Senate of the United States until the vacancy therein caused by the death of FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS is filled by election, as provided by law.

Witness: His excellency our governor, Emmet D. Boyle, and our seal hereto affixed at Carson City this 12th day of January, in the year of our Lord 1918.

EMMET D. BOYLE, Governor.

GEORGE BRODIGAN,
Secretary of State.

By J. W. LEGATE, Deputy.

By the governor:

The VICE PRESIDENT. The credentials will be placed on file. If there be no objection, the Senator appointed will present himself at the desk.

Mr. HENDERSON was escorted to the Vice President's desk by Mr. KING; and the oath prescribed by law having been administered to him, he took his seat in the Senate.

COMMITTEE SERVICE.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, I send to the desk an order filling committee vacancies and ask for its present consideration. The order was read and agreed to, as follows:

Ordered, That Senator HENDERSON be appointed to the following committees: Industrial Expositions (chairman), Banking and Currency, Claims, Conservation of National Resources, Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands, and Library.

That Senator TRAMMELL be appointed a member of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION—WAR CABINET.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, I rise to a question of personal privilege.

Mr. President, for 24 years of my life I have served the people of my State in one capacity or another to the best of an ability with which Providence saw fit to endow me, and in all that time I have never had my veracity called in question nor my integrity impeached, and I am frank to say that I have passed through some campaigns as bitter as have fallen to the lot of any man. It is therefore with some feeling of humiliation, and I may say of sadness, that I rise before this distinguished body to a question of personal privilege when my veracity has for the first time been called in question—not by an ordinary citizen in the ordinary walks of life—not by one of my colleagues, who stands upon the same level as myself socially and politically, but by a very distinguished gentleman who has the love and admiration of the people of this country, and who through their suffrage now occupies the highest place in the gift of our people, and I may say the highest place of any man on the face of the earth.

It is, therefore, with a peculiar feeling that I rise to address myself to the attack which has been made upon me, Mr. President, and I do it not with any feeling of unkindness, because the personal differences between the distinguished President and myself amount to nothing to the American people, but there are great policies at issue between us and between other people of this country, a proper settlement of which may, Mr. President, involve the very life of the Republic, and possibly the civilization of the world.

Some days ago a distinguished body of citizens invited me to deliver an address before the National Security League in New York. I accepted that invitation. On the dais with me were some of the best known men and women in America. The presiding officer of that meeting was a gentleman whom our distinguished President has seen fit to honor, and who has been highly honored by other Executives in the days gone by. I refer to Hon. Elihu Root.

On my right sat Judge Alton B. Parker, who was once a candidate of our party for the Presidency. On the left of the presiding officer was a very distinguished Republican friend of mine and a friend of his country, though born in a country that is now at war with America, Hon. JULIUS KAHN, of California. To his left was a distinguished ex-President of the United States in the person of Col. Roosevelt. The widow of ex-President

Cleveland was there, and, Mr. President, I say without fear of contradiction that the 2,000 people there represented every walk of life and a spirit of patriotism that can not be excelled in a like number of people anywhere in the United States.

In the multitude of work that has fallen to my lot it was impossible for me to prepare an address, and I did not even have time to correct the proof or revise it after it was delivered. It was reported in the New York Times in what appeared to be a verbatim report, and I assume the responsibility of the speech as printed in that paper. If there are any inaccuracies of diction or grammar I trust that under the circumstances the Senate will overlook them. Inasmuch as it forms the text of the charge against me of having distorted the truth I am going to ask that the Secretary may be permitted to read it. It is not very long. I dislike to burden the Senate with it, but I want the Senate to have the context of what I said in connection with what the distinguished President of the United States complains of in his public statement.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none and the Secretary will read.

The Secretary read as follows:

"I assure you it is a very great pleasure and privilege to be permitted to be with you to-day, because I feel that we are all engaged in the same great work—the work of the preservation not only of our country, but the preservation and perpetuation of civilization itself. Let me disclaim, my friends, any credit for what has been accomplished and for what we hope to accomplish in the great task that confronts us in this emergency. Let me say to you that I have had the cooperation and effort of the great mass of the Members of Congress without regard to party; and in addition to that, and above and over everything else, we have had the support of such distinguished men as the ex-President and ex-Commander in Chief of the Armies and Navies of the United States, and such men as my friend, Mr. Elihu Root, all of whom are here with us to-day.

"In season and out of season these distinguished gentlemen have gone out among the people and have tried to impress upon them, and they have begun to realize, that America, for the first time in its history, is involved in a war which may, my friends, mean its life and its dissolution unless America and her allies happen to be successful in it.

"Because of the limitation upon my time, and I know you are all glad of it [cries of 'No! No!'] it is absolutely impossible to go into this subject as I would love to go into it with you, and to discuss the military policy of the United States, or its lack of a military policy, since the earliest Revolutionary time. It has not been the fact that we have had a faulty military policy during all of those years; it has been, my friends, that we have had no military policy that has led us into these troubles and conditions. We are wont to talk of the magnificent courage of our forefathers, but it has often seemed to me that the most unfortunate thing that ever happened in this country was the fact that an unorganized militia at Bunker Hill was able to defeat an organized army of Great Britain, because there was then established what was later to be called the traditional policy of the United States against the organization of a standing army, or, rather, of a trained army to be called into service whenever the emergency required.

"BANE OF 'TRADITIONAL POLICY.'"

"From that day to this the histories of our country have talked about the traditional policies of the United States, and have commended the valor of the Revolutionary troops. I have no disposition to criticize that statement or to question the valor—the individual valor—of the splendid men who fought the battles of the Revolutionary days, but the lack of organization which was decried by the commanding officers then and which has been decried by them since, and has been criticized, are the troubles which confront us to-day; and if their recommendations had been followed we not only would have had a splendid Army now, but that Army would have been organized and raised under a system of universal military training that would have made us absolutely unconquerable.

"Washington called attention to it, and I have sometimes wondered how that distinguished commander of the American forces, with his splendid aid, Alexander Hamilton, ever had time to organize an Army because they devoted much of their time to appeals to a Continental Congress and to the States to assist them in organizing an Army that might be successful in accomplishment of victory. I wish I could go into these matters and discuss the various battles that were fought; but, incidentally, let me tell you that America did not owe the accomplishment of victory in 1783 to her untrained Army, but she owed it to France and the splendid efforts that France made.

"With all the pacifists that are abroad in the land denouncing America for sending a few hundred thousand men or a million men to France in this day of rapid transit, it is well to remember

that when America, on account of Washington's efforts, appealed to France for assistance, she sent to us under Rochambeau five or six thousand troops across the water, and instead of taking them five or ten days or two weeks to reach America, they were seventy-seven days from the time they left a French port until they landed at Newport, R. I., afflicted with disease, and chased every foot of the way by a British fleet. My friends, if America had nothing else to fight for in this war than to preserve the magnificent French Republic, every drop of blood shed and every dollar of treasure spent would be well spent for this splendid people.

"I am going to skip through it all, because my time is almost up now. We have got to get out of here at 3 o'clock, mind you.

"Traditional policy? It seems to me that a war policy called for by Washington and advocated by him would sustain a policy now of training young men to do battle for their country. We have departed from traditional policy, thank God, and in the last two years we have enacted a law that, as your chairman has said, compels Americans to know that the benefits of citizenship carry with them the responsibility for service whenever that service happens to be needed.

"VICIOUS VOLUNTEER SYSTEM.

"The selective-draft law which has been mentioned here put into service every man between 21 and 30; and it may be said to the credit of these young men who have been drafted that they are rendering just as effective and just as patriotic service as those who have volunteered. I sometimes regret that volunteering has ever been permitted, for the reason that in the loss that we sustain in the battles where there is a volunteer system, as there was in Great Britain, we have a horizontal loss, taking the young, red-blooded people that volunteer for service and leaving those who ought to have shared the fate of their colleagues at the first sound of war. On the other hand, under this system we take from the walks of industrial and commercial and everyday life young men of all classes, so that there is not this horizontal loss that I speak of, but rather a perpendicular loss, where the high and the low, the rich and the poor, the professional man and the artisan, stand shoulder to shoulder, and when losses come, the loss falls on all, every social stratum of life.

"Let me tell you that we are going to extend that. We are going to commence to train the young men from 18 to 21, so that when they become 21 we will have an army of young men to draw from every walk of life.

"But, say the pacifists, it is unnecessary in the United States to train the young men or to have an army. My friends, there were those in Great Britain who said it was unnecessary; and yet, but for the fact that republican France trained her young men, what would have become of France when the German forces went down and attacked her on her western front? Nothing saved her but the universal military training which that splendid Republic had in vogue. Ah, my friends, let us get away from our prejudices. When those who now advocate universal military training began to advocate it nobody was with them; now the country, thank God, is with them, and the country will see to it that Congress gets with them, too.

"Now, in conclusion, and I have only touched a few of the high spots, let me say that the Military Establishment of America has fallen down. There is no use to be optimistic about a thing that does not exist.

"EVERY DEPARTMENT INEFFICIENT.

"It has almost stopped functioning, my friends. Why? Because of inefficiency in every bureau and in every department of the Government of the United States. [Applause.] We are trying to work it out. I speak not as a Democrat, but as an American citizen.

"A VOICE. You are telling the truth, Senator.

"We are trying [Senator CHAMBERLAIN continued], and I have burned the midnight oil in an effort to do it—we are trying to centralize the power of supplying the Army in one man who can say 'No' and has the nerve to say 'No' when the time comes to say it. We have reported a bill, following the experience of Great Britain and France, creating a director of munitions for this purpose. We have gone one step further, and we have provided a bill for the creation of a cabinet of war, whose duty it shall be to lay out what we never have had, and have not now—a program to carry on this war to a successful conclusion. My friends, this is not an Administration measure; it is an American measure, and comes from Republicans and Democrats alike.

"I want this splendid audience, I want the citizenry of New York, I want you, Mr. Chairman, and all of you, to get behind these proposed laws and see to it that they grace the statute

books of America, so that America may play her part in the war. Let us, my friends, rally to the flag of our country without regard to party. Let us see to it that the Stars and Stripes are planted upon the plains of France and be there, as it is here, the emblem of freedom, liberty, and the rights of man.

"Your flag and my flag, and how it flies to-day.
In your land and my land, and half the world away,
Rose-red and blood-red, the stripes forever gleam,
Snow-white and soul-white, the good forefathers' dream,
Sky-blue and true-blue with stars that gleam aright
A glorious guidon of the day, a shelter through the night.

"And so, my friends, whether our flag be planted here or in France, or wherever it may be, let us see that it is the emblem of a better civilization and a better form of government. I thank you."

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, that address was delivered on the 19th of this month. I returned to Washington the next day, and in the evening of that day I received from the President of the United States a letter, which I send to the desk and ask the Secretary to read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, 20 January, 1918.

MY DEAR SIR: You are reported in the New York World of this morning as having said at a luncheon in New York yesterday:

"The Military Establishment of America has fallen down; there is no use to be optimistic about a thing that does not exist; it has almost stopped functioning. Why? Because of inefficiency in every bureau and in every department of the Government of the United States. I speak not as a Democrat, but as an American citizen."

I would be very much obliged if you would tell me whether you were correctly quoted. I do not like to comment upon the statements made before learning from you yourself whether you actually made them.

Very truly, yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

HON. GEORGE E. CHAMBERLAIN,
United States Senator.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, I received that letter too late to attempt to answer it last Sunday evening, but the first thing the next morning, and as soon as my office force came down, I dictated a letter to the President, and I ask to have that letter read into the RECORD.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

JANUARY 21, 1918.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I received last evening your favor of the 20th instant, in which you advise me that I was quoted in the New York World of same date with your letter as follows:

"The Military Establishment of America has fallen down; there is no use to be optimistic about a thing that does not exist; it has almost stopped functioning. Why? Because of inefficiency in every bureau and in every department of the Government of the United States. I speak not as a Democrat, but as an American citizen."

You desire to know if I am correctly quoted, inasmuch as you do not like to comment upon the statements made before learning from me whether I actually made them.

In reply permit me to say that the words quoted are substantially those used by me. My address on the occasion referred to was extemporaneous and without notes, but the New York Times of yesterday morning purports to give a verbatim report of all the addresses made, and I believe the report made is substantially correct. In that I am quoted as saying, in part:

"Now, in conclusion, and I have only touched a few of the high spots, let me say that the Military Establishment of America has fallen down. There is no use to be optimistic about a thing that does not exist. It has almost stopped functioning, my friends. Why? Because of inefficiency in every department of the Government of the United States. We are trying to work it out. I speak not as a Democrat, but as an American citizen."

You will note that there is very little difference between the two reports, and, in view of the fuller report in the Times, I am inclined to believe it correctly quotes me.

But, Mr. President, may I beg that you will do me the honor to read the whole of what I said in order that the part quoted may have its proper setting? I only had 20 minutes allotted me, and in that brief time undertook to show that since the Battle of Bunker Hill we had never had a proper military organization or policy and that our troubles now are largely due to that fact. I was only discussing the military policy, or lack of such policy, from the earliest days of the Republic, and immediately following the language last quoted I said:

"We are trying, my friends, and I have burned the midnight oil in an effort to do it—we have tried to centralize the power of supplying the Army in one man who can say 'no,' and has the nerve to say 'no' when the time comes to say it. We have reported a bill, following the experience of Great Britain and France, creating a director of munitions for this purpose. We have gone one step further, and we have provided a bill for the creation of a cabinet of war, whose duty it shall be to lay out what we never have had—and have not now—a program to carry on this war to a successful conclusion. My friends, this is not an administration measure; it is an American measure and comes from Republicans and Democrats both."

All present understood the criticism, and you will note that ex-President Roosevelt in his speech shortly following mine made substantially the same criticism of conditions during the Spanish-American War, although, as he said, "It was waged by an administration of which I was a part and in which I afterwards became even more closely connected."

I have been connected with the Committee on Military Affairs of the Senate ever since I have been a Member of the Senate, and have

taken a very deep interest in military legislation, and I believe I know something about the deficiencies in the Military Establishment. Since Congress convened the committee have been diligently at work endeavoring to find out actual conditions and to find some remedy for recognized or proven deficiencies in our military system. The testimony of witnesses in and out of the establishment clearly establishes the fact, Mr. President, that there are inefficiencies in the system that ought to be remedied for a proper prosecution of the war, and, further, that there are and have been inefficiencies connected with the administration of a disjointed and uncoordinated establishment. So feeling and so believing, I have felt it my duty to speak out, in the hope that defects in the military code may be cured and inefficiencies later weeded out. I will be glad to join with other members of the committee and go over the situation with you at any time, if you desire it, and review the testimony which taken in connection with an inherited deficient system, led me to the conclusion expressed in my short extemporaneous address to which you call my attention.

I have the honor to remain, yours, very sincerely,

GEO. E. CHAMBERLAIN.

President WOODROW WILSON,
The White House.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, to that letter I received no reply; I do not know that any reply was necessary; but on the afternoon of that day—last Monday—there was printed in the evening papers, and generally printed throughout the United States, a statement by our distinguished President, and I assume that that is the answer to the letter. The press was kind enough, small as I am compared with our distinguished President, to print with his statement a very brief statement which I made to them upon reading the President's statement. I ask that both be read, Mr. President.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered. The Secretary read as follows:

DOCUMENTS IN CLASH ON POLICY.
[Washington Herald, Jan. 22.]

By WOODROW WILSON.

Senator CHAMBERLAIN'S statement as to the present inaction and ineffectiveness of the Government is an astonishing and absolutely unjustifiable distortion of the truth.

As a matter of fact, the War Department has performed a task of unparalleled magnitude and difficulty with extraordinary promptness and efficiency.

There have been delays and disappointments and partial miscarriages of plans, all of which have been drawn into the foreground and exaggerated by the investigations which have been in progress since the Congress assembled—investigations which drew indispensable officials of the department constantly away from their work and officers from their commands and contributed a great deal to such delay and confusion as has inevitably arisen. But by comparison with what has been accomplished, these things, much as they are to be regretted, were insignificant, and no mistake has been made which has been repeated.

Nothing helpful or likely to speed or facilitate the war tasks of the Government has come out of such criticism and investigation—I have not been consulted about them and have learned of them only at second hand—but their proposal came after effective measures of reorganization had been thoughtfully and maturely perfected, and inasmuch as these measures have been the result of experience, they are much more likely than any others to be effective. If the Congress will but remove a few statutory obstacles of rigid departmental organization which stand in their way.

The legislative proposals I have heard of would involve long additional delays and turn our experience into mere loss of motion.

My association and constant conference with the Secretary of War have taught me to regard him as one of the ablest public officials I have ever known. The country will soon learn whether he or his critics understand the business in hand.

To add, as Senator CHAMBERLAIN did, that there is inefficiency in every department and bureau of the Government is to show such ignorance of actual conditions as to make it impossible to attach any importance to his statement.

I am bound to infer that that statement sprang out of opposition to the administration's whole policy rather than out of any serious intention to reform its practice.

By GEORGE E. CHAMBERLAIN.

My argument was directed to the Military Establishment and not to the General Government. Those who heard me know that.

I had no prepared speech and did not speak from notes. I delivered an extemporaneous address to the people there, explaining that since Bunker Hill we had had practically no military organization or policy. I discussed the subject from that viewpoint for 20 minutes.

I said the Senate Military Committee had tried to correct the evils by the introduction of the two new bills. One, written by me, is the director-of-munitions bill. The other, written by a subcommittee, is the war-cabinet bill. I still stand for both.

Mr. Baker's efforts to better his organization within the Military Establishment itself have been commendable. He has tried to do something. Some improvements have been made in the system in vogue.

But in his plan the inherent weakness, in the last analysis, is that there is no one between the President and the Army able to act. The new system of Mr. Baker comprises the clearance board of the War Industries Board and the various purchasing departments. There is the inherent weakness. They can not act.

The war cabinet and the director of munitions have distinct and positive power. One maps the progress for the future, the other furnishes supplies for the Army. They constitute a strong link in a chain, which is never stronger than its weakest link.

We substitute for voluntary bodies a strong organization.

I regret that the administration is against the plan. But I will proceed with the bills. I feel it my duty as a Senator. The people of the country are entitled to be let into the confidence of the Senate Military Committee and the committee considers that the bills are necessary in order that the war preparations may be coordinated.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, the statement of the President challenges me, of course, to the proof of my statement as printed in the New York Times, to which I adhere, and which I now repeat. Whether my colleagues or the country will take the evidence by its four corners and reach the same conclusion that I have reached is an entirely different proposition. They may not see it from the same angle that I see it. Two men may read the same article and draw different conclusions from it. Two men may hear one witness testify and draw different inferences from what he said. Those are the inherent differences in human nature. But occupying the position that I do, Mr. President, as chairman of this great committee, associated as I have been with Democrats and Republicans whose single aim and effort has been to develop conditions as they exist without fear or favor or the hope of reward, I felt as an American citizen, and I feel as a Member of this distinguished body, that it was my duty to say the thing that was in me. If I succeeded, Mr. President, in making a rift in the clouds and letting the sunlight into the dark places where the American people are entitled to go and see, I feel that my efforts and the efforts of my colleagues, for whom I entertain the highest regard and respect, have not been in vain in an endeavor to save our country in the pending crisis.

The evidence has not yet been printed. That has not been due to any fault on the part of the committee, but, because of its importance, the testimony of each witness has been sent to him in order that he might revise it, and that the country might get the evidence as it came from the lips of the witnesses. I hope it will be finished to-day, so that the Senate may have it. But now, Mr. President, in view of the fact that my truthfulness has been called in question, I feel it my duty, not to go into detail—because it would take me days to do that—but to say some things here in all kindness, and to tell the country some things that possibly I might not have told under ordinary circumstances until the investigation now in progress had been completed. I shall do it as a man who loves his country first of all, a man who would sacrifice not only his own life but the life of every member of his family to save it. I shall do it fearlessly, and as an American citizen who wants to help and not hinder the President in this emergency.

I rather think, Mr. President, that it is not that I have distorted the truth, for I have sometimes feared that in the multitude of cares and responsibilities that have devolved upon the President of the United States he has not been able to ascertain the truth. If he has relied upon some of those who have come before our committee, Mr. President and my fellow Senators, he does not know the truth, and from the lips of some of those who have testified and who are closest to him he can not find the truth; not because there has been a disposition to deceive or mislead our distinguished Executive possibly, but simply because they, too, are so situated, in the multitudinous affairs of this great crisis, that they can not ascertain the truth; and even if they could ascertain the truth through the labyrinth of things that pass over their desks and through their offices each day, it would be impossible for them to remember it for any purpose. So this investigation was started, Mr. President, with a purpose to be critical where criticism was necessary and with the purpose to be constructive as well; and this committee would not have discharged its duty to the Senate and to the country if it had gone about the work with any other purpose in view than to criticize where criticism was just, and to offer suggestions of a constructive nature where that was proper.

Mr. President, the Secretary of War, in his general statement to the country—which was carefully written and prepared—tells us that \$3,200,000,000 have been appropriated for the Ordnance Department and contracts have been let for \$1,677,000,000; all of which is true. But the Secretary fails to tell us, Mr. President, in his statement to the country, and it only comes out in the course of a cross-examination, that America stands to-day unprepared so far as ordnance is concerned. I challenge anybody to read the testimony and come to any other conclusion. Poor, bleeding France, my friends—bled white, not only for her own life and for the liberty of her own citizens but for America as well—is to-day furnishing our troops as they arrive in France the necessary heavy ordnance and machine guns for aircraft and for ground service. Why, Mr. President, if we relied upon the Ordnance Department in this emergency to furnish our troops with the heavy ordnance—and this is largely a war of artillery to-day—the war would be over before we ever got to the front.

Why, there is testimony, if I correctly remember it, before the Military Affairs Committee that along some of these fronts the cannon—and heavy cannon, if you please—are located 5 yards apart for a distance of 6 miles; and yet America, this great and magnificent country, is dependent upon poor France to deliver

the ordnance! Did France agree to deliver it in order to win over reluctant America? Did she agree to furnish it in order to encourage and hearten America? What would happen to France with the debacle in Italy, Senators, where her own troops are and where the troops of her allies are if she is to furnish ordnance to America? What is France to do for them in case of an emergency and a desperate battle for the life of one of her allies?

I will not go into details. I do not think it would be proper to go into details, but I call to the attention of the Senate the confidential evidence of Gen. Crozier himself as to the amount of contracts which the Secretary speaks of as having been let, and as to the progress of the work. If the administration wanted to be fair with the American people—and they are entitled to fair treatment, and to know these things—why did not the distinguished Secretary, whom I hold in the very highest regard as an able and intellectual gentleman, tell the American people how long it would take to make deliveries under these contracts and let them assist in getting ready for this terrible cataclysm that not only confronts America but confronts the world?

What has the Ordnance Department been doing since 1914? Was there even a half-witted American citizen who at the very outset did not know and realize that there was a chance that America might become involved? There were omens in the sky, my colleagues, that indicated that America would become involved, notwithstanding her desire to keep out. She could not keep out. What was the Ordnance Department doing? Nothing. Here we were from August, 1914, until the declaration of war in April, 1917, with the Ordnance Department lying supinely upon its back, making no plans, constructing no gauges, manufacturing no dies, doing absolutely nothing to ascertain what were the possibilities in raw material and the possibilities of manufacture. It would not have taken any time, it would not have cost much, if anything, to have done that. Congress appropriated quite a large sum in two or three appropriation bills for the purpose of manufacturing dies, jigs, and gauges to be used in the construction of all of these implements of artillery warfare. That money has not been expended; and yet every business man and every sensible man in this country knows that for quantity production it is absolutely necessary to have the gauges and the jigs and the dies, so that when you are ready to manufacture all you have to do is to send them out, so that guns may be manufactured along those lines. What was the Ordnance Department doing? Nothing.

I am not blaming anybody in particular, Mr. President, but I am calling attention to facts and blaming an inefficient system. I have a very high regard for Gen. Crozier. He has made his reputation in the Army, and his life has been spent in the service of his country. We have not been able to do what Great Britain has done and what France has done and what Italy has done and what every one of our allies has been able to do, and that is to retire these gentlemen who have not proved themselves up to the mark when it comes to getting ready for war. We ought not to dismiss them in disgrace, but certainly they ought not to be continued in places where they have failed, or be promoted to higher rank. France has not hesitated to retire them to the shades of private life, or to the shades of inactive military life, if you please, into positions of innocuous desuetude. Great Britain has not hesitated to do it at any time. Why should America hesitate?

Senators, it is not a question of the individual or of individuals. This is not a question between the distinguished President of the United States and myself. It is a question of America; and every man in America ought to forget party, forget individuals, and forget everything, so that his whole thought and his whole life and his whole purpose may be devoted not only to the protection of the Republic but also to the perpetuation of our own institutions and the institutions of the civilized world, all of which are involved.

Oh, my colleagues and friends, I want you to read this testimony, and I want you to read it prayerfully and carefully and tearfully, if need be.

Take the question of machine guns. I am not going into the merits of any particular gun. That has been an old controversy here for years. There are things that can be said on both sides of it. Here was the Lewis gun, that was being manufactured in America for Great Britain. She had 70,000 of them on the battle front, and the testimony of every British soldier that I have seen is as to the excellent character of the gun. There are several kinds of machine guns. America was manufacturing in large numbers and on large contract the Lewis gun for export to the allies and was prepared to turn them out in large quantities. And yet, while we stood along the edge of a seething volcano, we were trifling along through the Ordnance Department, trying to

find a machine gun. With this war on, and America in it, we did not even adopt a machine gun until along in May sometime, and it was not finally adopted, I believe, until sometime in June. Then they adopted another gun—not the Lewis gun, that was being used on the battle front in Europe, but a gun that was still a gun on paper, and it is a gun on paper to-day—I do not care what anybody says about it—because it has never been given a field test. It has been developed, Mr. President, that all of these guns have to be experimented with and developed and changed and modified in one form or another before they can finally become an implement of warfare in the proper sense of the word.

It may be that the Browning gun, the one adopted, is the best gun. It is an automatic rifle. There are two classes of the Lewis gun, one light and one heavy. We are manufacturing the Lewis gun, and manufacturing it for aircraft. If they are good for that, why could we not have adopted the plans then in vogue, and have manufactured the Lewis gun, even if it was not the best gun, until final tests had discovered the best? They are the modern implements of war with heavy artillery, Mr. President, and without them America could not get anywhere. We are going to use them on the aircraft. The reply to the criticism of the tardiness in adopting a machine gun is: "Well, we have thirty or forty thousand of them for aircraft, the lighter kind." But, Mr. President, what I complain of is that they were not manufactured in large quantities in factories that were then manufacturing them for the British Government and for other countries.

I think the Secretary testified in regard to the contracts for the Browning gun. Contracts are out, and the guns are to be delivered some time at varying dates in the future. I ask you to read Gen. Crozier's testimony. I do not want to go into that. I do not think it would be proper to go into it; but we are advised that we have got some manufactured. The Secretary testified some time during the middle of January that we had nine guns at that time—nine Browning guns—nine guns to go up against the thousands of the machine guns of Germany. It may be that having nine shows that there is now an opportunity for quantity production, because the gauges may be ready; but we have been in the war 10 months, and nothing has been accomplished in the way of securing these guns.

I noticed in reading the proceedings of the British Parliament not long ago—and I think he was right—a member said, "You need not be afraid about giving Germany any information." Germany knows more about America to-day than many men connected with the department; and so far as I am concerned, my colleagues, I feel that America would be better off if her representatives would come out in the spot light and let the plain people of this land know what is being done, and then you could rely upon them to rally to the support of the President for the successful prosecution of this war. There is not any question about that.

Let us now consider the question of rifles.

We were furnishing Lee-Enfield rifles to the British Government in large numbers. The factories were prepared for them. It is true that Great Britain was trying to make an improvement upon the rifles used by her when she became involved in the war, but when the war came on Great Britain said we will not waste any time improving our rifles, but will get them out just as fast as we can, and they have been manufacturing them ever since. What did America do? With 700,000 rifles in America and in our colonial possessions, a motley group of different kinds of guns, America was seeking, through the Ordnance Department, to improve the rifle that Great Britain was manufacturing here and which we could have put out without any trouble in the factories. We went to work through the Ordnance Department to improve the Enfield rifle. I am frank to say it is a great improvement. I believe it is a better gun than the English gun, but here while the house was burning America was determining through its Ordnance Department what instrumentalities ought to be adopted to put out the fire. It took weeks and months before they finally got the Lee-Enfield rifle into condition where the Ordnance Department thought it was all right. And after this was agreed upon there were further delays caused by indecision. Here were the engineers of these great arms companies, who got together and finally agreed upon a program for the manufacture of these guns, and concluded that they would manufacture them with seven interchangeable parts, and they started to manufacture the gauges, the jigs, and dies, and everything necessary for the manufacture of guns with seven interchangeable parts. After the Ordnance Department had practically accepted the suggestion it went to work through a distinguished ordnance officer and changed the plan from 7 to 40 interchangeable parts, and finally raised it to over 50 interchangeable parts, with the result that everything had to be stopped for awhile that additional gauges

might be made. This may have resulted in improvement, but why the delay in the midst of the smoke of battle?

Mr. President, these things were only brought out by this investigation. You do not find them elsewhere. Why should not the American people be informed of them? Senators, there are a lot of people out in the wild and woolly West where I come from who, lying back in their cabins and in their homes, perfectly content that America has everything she wants, and they are not worrying themselves, and they are fathers of boys at the front. If they only knew, these mothers and these fathers, patriotic citizens of the West, the actual conditions, every one of them—every woman and man—would be up and doing and ready to give their lives and their all for the purpose of protecting America.

The casual reader of the Secretary's statement would conclude that we had everything in the way of ordnance and yet, take the testimony of men on the ground like Gen. Greble—we only called two or three, we did not want to take them away from their duties—and we find the conclusion would not be justified. Take Gen. Greble, commanding general at Camp Bowie. He testified that they have not a single trench mortar. They have not machine guns to any appreciable number, not enough to train machine-gun men. The testimony of all is that the machine-gun man is not worth anything unless he has had some practice with a machine gun. They have not any howitzers; they have not any of the larger caliber guns. Senators, that is true of Camp Bowie, and it is true of nearly every cantonment and regular division in the United States. I am not saying it by way of complaining, Mr. President, but I am trying to show, and I want the American people to realize, that as to military program and policy America has none and that her military establishment as recently constituted has fallen down. If it had not been for the civilian people of this country, if it had not been for the men who have come here and given their time and their services, we would not have been anywhere.

I have in what I have said only briefly touched upon the Ordnance Department. Now I come to the Quartermaster's Department. You would conclude from the statements that are printed in the press of the country, that "everything is lovely and the goose hangs high," so far as clothing was concerned, but get on the ground and talk with men who are in command of these boys and you will find the conclusion is wrong; that is all there is about it. On a per capita basis it may be. My friend from Utah [Mr. Smoot] and I on a per capita basis may be worth \$100,000. He may have the \$100,000, but per capita I am worth just as much as he is, and yet I do not have anything. On the same test of a per capita basis America may have uniforms, but when you come to the proper distribution of uniforms they have not had them and they have not got them yet.

I realize the great difficulties that have confronted the Quartermaster General. I am not complaining of him as an individual. He has done the best he could under a faulty system, and the President is not responsible for the system. He inherited the system. He has done the best he could. But we are without the clothing just the same.

Now, I am going to show by Mr. Baker's testimony that he did not know it, and that is the reason why I am saying that the President, the premier of all the great statesmen of the world, if you please, recognized as the leader of thought in this great international cataclysm, and I say amen to it, did not know the truth, and I did. I had it from the lips of living witnesses. He must have gotten his facts from his distinguished Secretary of War and he in turn got them from somebody else, and if those who furnished the evidence knew the facts, they did not tell the whole truth. If the Secretary represented conditions to the President on their statement he could not have given the President the whole truth, for he did not know it.

My statement is challenged, my integrity is in question. I am going to pass around to the Senate some of the pictures taken in one of these cantonments, of young men drilling in the cold, in the snow, and working in the trenches and using wooden guns and other ordnance that they manufactured in the camps. That is all right; I am not complaining of it, but I am showing the facts. If I had a boy going to France to join a machine-gun company or an artillery company, I would want him to have had some practice with something else than a wooden cannon or a telephone pole used for a cannon before he went over. I want Senators to see these pictures. I do this, Mr. President, because I feel it a duty that I owe first to my country and second to my conscience, and no man and no set of men on God's green footstool can keep me from telling the truth and carrying out the dictates of my own conscience. I have no fear of God, man, or devil. My only fear, my colleagues, was that in this discussion in some way or other it might have a psychologically bad effect upon my country and its cause, and yet I do not see

how it can do otherwise than help. If these conditions exist, they ought to be corrected and corrected quickly. Great Britain found the same conditions and she corrected them pretty quickly as a result of fearless criticism. France found the same conditions and corrected them. America can not get her Army to manufacture these things. I do not care what they say, the graduates of military institutions stand at the top of their classes it may be, but when it comes to a young man trained along a particular line of duty undertaking to handle great commercial and manufacturing enterprises it is not in him to do it. You must go to the men who have done these things in order to secure results. Great Britain did that and France did it, and why should we not take this matter up and if Congress feels that there are inefficiencies it ought to correct them, though the heavens fall. Congress ought to do it without any fear of anybody, giving due weight and consideration always to the distinguished Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy.

Now, what has been the result? I want you to read the Secretary's statement printed in the hearings about having substantially all these things in the way of equipment. While he was on the stand a few days ago, reiterating again the statement that our soldier boys were equipped, I said to him, in substance, as I took my seat at the head of the table with my distinguished colleagues, "Why, Mr. Secretary, I have just talked within the last five minutes with a commanding officer at one of these cantonments, and he tells me that he is short 7,000 coats." In his usual placid way he said, substantially, "That is not true." I said, "He just came from there and is it not true?" He turned around to the Assistant Secretary of War, and said to him, "Telegraph to the Quartermaster General and get his report." On the next day, the 14th of January, I got this letter from the Secretary:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, January 14, 1918.

MY DEAR SENATOR CHAMBERLAIN: On Saturday morning one of the members of the committee said that he had just talked with the commanding officer of Camp Sherman, and that there were, as I recall it, 3,000 men there without uniforms. You will recall that I asked the Assistant Secretary to direct at once that a telegram be sent to the camp to find out the facts.

I inclose a telegram which came on Saturday, the same day upon which the statement was made, and which states that the 31,024 men now at Camp Sherman were at that time all in uniform, and that a previous shortage of approximately 7,000 coats was at that time provided for.

I send this information because, as you will recall, I ventured at the time the statement was made quite definitely to express a disbelief in its accuracy.

I will say this for the Secretary, when he did not know he was very positive.

This telegram I think should be called to the attention of the members of the committee, as it is of the highest importance to have them know both that this provision has been made and that the information upon which I have been relying in my testimony to the committee is not inaccurate.

Cordially, yours,

NEWTON D. BAKER,
Secretary of War.

HON. GEORGE E. CHAMBERLAIN,
United States Senate.

The telegram is as follows. It came from the quartermaster addressed to Gen. Goethals.

CAMP SHERMAN, OHIO, January 12, 1918.

GOETHALS,

Quartermaster General of the Army, Washington, D. C.
Re tel. date, 31,024 men now at this camp all in uniform. Previous shortage of approximately 7,000 coats provided for.

CASE,
Camp Quartermaster.

That convinced me that the Secretary of War knew what he was talking about, and I was glad to have it confirmed, because there were some things I thought he was misinformed about. On the very next day, January 15, he sent me this letter:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, January 15, 1918.

MY DEAR SENATOR CHAMBERLAIN: I send you a telegram which has just been received from Camp Sherman. The information in it differs from that contained in the earlier telegram, which I sent you yesterday and which arrived on Saturday. Apparently the information given to you by Gen. Glenn as to the blouses was accurate. This telegram, however, shows that an adequate supply is in shipment, though not received by the time the telegram was sent.

Cordially, yours,

NEWTON D. BAKER,
Secretary of War.

HON. GEORGE E. CHAMBERLAIN,
United States Senate.

That is the way it has been ever since the war commenced. It is on the way, but does not get there. Now, what does the telegram say?

CAMP SHERMAN, OHIO, January 15, 1918.

GOETHALS, PER HARDEMAN,

Office Quartermaster General, Washington, D. C.:

Thirty-one thousand one hundred and four men now in camp. All have overcoats and woolen breeches. Twenty-four thousand two hundred and four have complete uniforms. Sixty-nine hundred not yet supplied with coats, supply of which is now in shipment.

CASE,
Camp Quartermaster.

Take Camp Wheeler, Ga., and I am going to call attention to some of the things in connection with these shortages, Mr. President, unpleasant though it may be, in an effort to show the Senate and the country as to the hundreds and thousands of young men who are dying in all of these encampments, that it is due to the inefficiency of the War Department itself; at least that is my conclusion from the testimony. I am not an expert; I do not know; but I charge that I conclude from the testimony that that inefficiency is responsible for it. I am not going to make that statement on my own authority; I am going to read into the Record the reports of the Surgeon General. I am not making these statements, Mr. President, without having sat with the committee constantly, never missing a

single minute, except a part of one afternoon when I was called to a department. I know what every witness stated. If I had time to go into details, I could open the eyes even of the Senate.

Take Camp Doniphan, in Oklahoma, where there was a 53 per cent shortage of woolen coats.

Mr. GALLINGER. What was the shortage at Camp Wheeler, I will ask the Senator?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. At Camp Wheeler the shortage was 39 per cent of woolen coats.

Camp MacArthur had a shortage of 21 per cent; Camp Logan, Tex., had a shortage of 50 per cent; Camp Cody, N. Mex., 50 per cent; Camp Doniphan, Okla., 53 per cent; Camp Bowie, Tex., 40 per cent; Camp Sheridan, Ala., 59 per cent; and so on down the list. I think the highest shortage in woolen coats was 78 per cent.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Did the Senator state the shortage of such coats at Camp Custer?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. They are all here. The shortage at Camp Custer was 75 per cent.

Mr. President, I will not read the whole list of these shortages, but Senators may take each item, and it will be found that these camps are short all the way, as I say, from 1 per cent to 100 per cent. This information comes right from the men on the ground. They know what they are talking about; they do not have to make their estimates on a per capita basis. They make their estimates on the ground, just as Gen. Glenn did when I asked him what the conditions were.

Mr. President, right in this connection I feel it my duty to the country to let them know, and I am going to call attention to the reports of Gen. Gorgas himself, that nearly all of the deaths and the epidemics at the cantonments could have been avoided if the War Department had been efficient and effective.

In addition to the testimony of Gen. Gorgas, we have the testimony of men on the ground. We had Gen. Greble come up here. He is a splendid soldier. Whenever you get a soldier who has not any other ambition than an ambition to serve his country, you will invariably get the truth. It is not always so with one of these swivel-chair artists who wants to go higher, and from whom you can not ascertain what the truth is.

Gen. Greble came up here at our request; he is one of the men we took away from his post. Gen. Greble is stationed at Camp Bowie. I want you to read his testimony, because he shows the shortage in everything. In September last Gen. Greble began to see what was coming to his body of fine young fellows, and he began to reach out to try to get the things that were necessary to protect them from disease and to try to have those things done that would save them if disease came. He did not appeal to one man only; he did not appeal through the regular channels only; but he appealed through all channels. They had this body of splendid young men in tents, 12 in a tent, packed together like sardines, when they ought not to have had at any time more than five or six, or, at the outside, not over eight. Gen. Greble telegraphed to the Quartermaster General and stated in substance, "If you do not give us more space for these soldiers we shall have measles and pneumonia and other diseases in camp." He also appealed to Gen. Gorgas, and kept on appealing. Then he was sent to Europe on a mission. When he came back he found the same conditions practically existing. Not until some time in December did he get that for which he asked. Then the epidemic had broken out. As many as 8,000 young men went through the base hospitals and hospitals down there at Camp Bowie. Think of that!

Mr. TOWNSEND. How many?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Eight thousand.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. And how many deaths were there?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I will give that to the Senator in a minute; I shall be glad to do so.

So, here was an old officer, who was accustomed to handle soldiers and who knew what was going to happen, as any sensible man knew what would happen. The Surgeon General has always advised the War Department that there ought to be 50 square feet of floor space to every man, and in those little tents they had placed 12 men. He did not get his request complied with until the worst had happened, until 8,000 men had passed through the hospitals and many of them had died; and absolutely had died without proper nursing because of the inefficiencies of the same system!

I challenge the Senators to read this testimony; do not take my word for it. You may single out a few witnesses who testify in opposition to what I am now stating, but when you get down to the men who know from actual contact and experience you get the truth as it appears on the ground.

If there is one man in America who knows what he is talking about when he talks about disease and epidemics, and knows how

to handle them, it is Gen. Gorgas. He has not only achieved a national reputation, but he has achieved a world-wide reputation for his splendid work at Panama, and he has made that formerly pestilential region a garden spot in which to live because of the efforts of himself and of his subordinates.

I am going to ask that all these reports of Gen. Gorgas be printed in the Record. All of these cantonments are radiating centers from which there goes out to the American people everything that is taking place there; and I hope that every young man will write to his mother and his father and tell of the conditions, not in order to stay the patriotism of America but to stimulate those in authority to do their duty to protect their lives, if they are to fight the battles of the country.

Secretary Baker says in his printed statement that—

The deaths in our forces in the United States from September to the end of December average 7.5 per thousand a year, slightly less than would have been the death rate of men of the same age at home.

Well, maybe that is true, but Gen. Gorgas says that amongst all the troops there has been a death rate of 8.2 per cent covering a little longer time. It is probable that Secretary Baker's statement is correct for the time he gives, and that Gen. Gorgas's data are correct for the time he covers; but what does a little thing like 2 per thousand of a million and a half men amount to? It does not mean anything, of course; let them die; it is only 2 per thousand; they have saved the balance of them. However, if proper precautions upon the part of the Government, if an efficient system had saved one young man who was risking his life for America, the American people would have been glad to have seen the money expended to save that one life. Particularly is that true in the light of the reports of the Surgeon General of the Army, which show that this condition was due to the fact that in most cases the troops were overcrowded and in some improperly clothed.

But that is not all. With that distinguished man at the head of the medical service of the Army and an able corps of assistants here, he was not even advised with as to the selection of the cantonment sites. Mind you, the men who go to these camps are selected men.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. How many cantonments are there?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. There are 30. Now, think of that! The man at the head of the medical department here in Washington, with a reputation in his line second to none amongst the professional men in the world, not even consulted with reference to the selection of these sites.

It may be said that, with the officer of the line who selected these camp sites, there went a young doctor. Whether he was from the Medical Corps, or whether he was some post or contract surgeon, does not make any difference to me; what I am getting at is that Surg. Gen. Gorgas was not consulted, and all this time he has insisted morning, noon, and night, in season and out of season, that in order to safeguard the health of these young men there must be at least 50 square feet of floor space to the man; and yet I venture to state, Mr. President, that there is not a single cantonment in the United States that has been built with that idea in view for protecting the young men.

But it may be said that these young men had to be called out quickly. What was the use of calling them out until the cantonments were ready or at least had hospital facilities? They might have been drafted into the service, and might have been assigned for duty at home or allowed to remain somewhere where they would not have been compelled to give up their lives because of a lack of care.

I will take these camps at random, and, inasmuch as I have referred to Camp Bowie, I will call attention to that. I will say to my southern friends and colleagues that the same conditions prevail down there, as you will know if you will take the trouble to go on the ground. First, I will take Camp Sevier, S. C., as a random case. Here is Gen. Gorgas's report:

Sanitary conditions here are serious. Sixty men have died of pneumonia in the past month. The camp has been exposed to a general epidemic of measles, about 2,000 cases having occurred within the last month. During this same period, they have had 175 cases of pneumonia and 15 cases of meningitis. The new conscripts of this command are men who are nonimmune to measles. They come from the neighboring Southern States where population is scarce, and, therefore, have not had measles in childhood. Always, with measles, a certain number of cases of pneumonia occur. The mortality of pneumonia from any cause is always high.

Now, note:

2. The basic unsanitary condition, however, in my opinion, is overcrowding. In the past, in this camp, the division commander has had to put 11 and 12 men in a tent, due to the shortage of tentage. This would give about 20 square feet of space to each man. At present, he has to put nine men in a tent, which gives about 28 square feet to the man. I urge that the division commander be directed to furnish at least 50 square feet of floor space to the man, which would give about five men to the tent.

Now, note another item. I am not going to read the whole report, but I will say these statements are given in the face

of the inference to be drawn from the statement of the distinguished Secretary of War that everything is all right in these camps.

5. There has been a good deal of discomfort and exposure on account of the men having nothing but their summer clothing.

Mark you, this report was made on the 29th of November—

This has been in great part corrected in the last 10 days by the arrival of woolen clothing and overcoats. The O. D. (olive drab) wool has not yet been issued, but the authorities are informed that it is on the way. The whole command is still in khaki.

That statement is along the line of many other statements where it is shown that the men not only do not have olive drab woolen clothing but that they are still in their summer clothing, the Secretary of War to the contrary notwithstanding, because we have this testimony, or some of it, from men on the ground and from such distinguished men as Surg. Gen. Gorgas.

I will now take as another illustration Camp Bowie—

Mr. TOWNSEND. Where is Camp Bowie?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. At Fort Worth, Tex. Now, note, I quote again from Gen. Gorgas:

We have had in this camp during the past month 41 deaths from pneumonia, with 409 cases admitted. About 2,000 cases of measles in the same length of time. The causes of this condition are much the same as in the other camps reported upon. The great number of cases of measles is due to this fact.

The general then states about the same reason as given in the reports from which I have already quoted, as to men coming from sparsely settled States, who have not had measles in childhood. I will not read that, but the general goes on to say in his report:

1. I recommend that the division commander be directed to furnish sufficient accommodations so that each man will be allowed 50 feet of floor space. This would give not more than five men to a tent.

2. Measles and other epidemic diseases are introduced into these camps by cases being brought by the incoming troops. To provide against this an observation camp should be established, where all newcomers could be kept under observation for at least 14 days, and no new men should be placed in general camp until it is free from infection. I recommend that the division commander be directed to establish such observation camp, and that no fresh men be sent in until he is ready to receive them under the above instructions.

3. The command, until recently, has had nothing but their summer clothing.

That report was made on the third day of December last.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Have no observation camps been established?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. None at all that I know of; the men go right into the camps; that is the system. Let me say that all these things could not be done at once; it has been a herculean task for the War Department to do these things, but they could have kept these men back—there is not any question about that—until the hospitals were built as well as the cantonments; they could have established observation camps; that would have been a very easy matter. Now note:

The command, until recently, has had nothing but their summer clothing. This has caused a great deal of discomfort and probably increased the tendency to pneumonia. Most of the command has recently been issued woolen underclothing, and I am informed that the thick clothing for the whole command is now in camp, with the exception of overcoats—

With the exception of overcoats—

and are in process of being issued.

They have been "in process," Mr. President, since this war began.

I urge expediting the forwarding of overcoats as rapidly as possible.

The base hospital is in an unfinished condition; no water in the hospital, no plumbing, or sewer connection. With the large number of patients in this institution this lack of water, plumbing, and sewer connection causes serious inconvenience to the sick, and increases greatly the burden of caring for them.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. President, I will ask the Senator what is the date of that report?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. That report is dated December 3. They come down even later, however, and there is practically no difference in these reports.

I am going to ask that these reports be inserted in the RECORD.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered. The Chair hears no objection.

The matter referred to is as follows:

NOVEMBER 26, 1917.

From: The Surgeon General, United States Army.

To: The Chief of Staff (through The Adjutant General of the Army). Subject: Report of inspection of Camp Wheeler, Macon, Ga.

1. In my recent inspection of Camp Wheeler, at Macon, Ga., I found conditions as had been indicated by reports. There had been a sharp epidemic of measles, some 3,000 cases, and as always occurs with measles, a certain number of cases of pneumonia. At the time of my visit, there were some 300 cases of pneumonia in the hospital. While the hospital was crowded, the right of way was given the pneumonia cases and they were being well cared for.

2. In the past month there have been about 60 deaths from pneumonia. The height of the measles epidemic was passed some ten days ago and at the time of my visit the epidemic was markedly

on the decline, but the pneumonia was still on the increase. Generally pneumonia does not develop in a patient until a week or ten days after the incidence of the measles.

3. We can, therefore, expect a considerable number of deaths from pneumonia.

4. The camp is well situated and was in generally good condition. I think the reason for the measles affecting so severely this particular camp is the fact that men came from the surrounding Southern States which are sparsely settled and therefore the inhabitants do not, as a rule, have measles in childhood.

5. A large proportion of the cases of pneumonia were evidently contact cases and I am anxious on this score, fearing that we may be beginning here an epidemic of septic pneumonia. We have had a few cases of meningitis, a few cases of scarlet fever and some cases of mumps.

6. Whatever the original cause of the epidemic and the present conditions, all these evils are accentuated by the crowded condition of the camp. The tendency to pneumonia has no doubt been increased by the fact that the men have generally been exposed to the cold weather of the past month with no other protection than their summer clothing. Clothing is now rapidly coming into camp and about two-thirds of the men are supplied with woolen garments.

7. I recommend that it be insisted upon that all men in the camp have 50 feet of floor space each, and to accomplish this such additional shelter as may be necessary; that no fresh men be brought into the camp until the epidemic has subsided; that an observation camp be established and that all new men be kept under observation until the main camp is free from infection.

W. C. GORGAS,
Surgeon General, United States Army.

CAMP SEVIER, GREENVILLE, S. C.,
November 29, 1917.

From: Surgeon General, United States Army.

To: Chief of Staff, United States Army.

Subject: Camp sanitation.

1. Sanitary conditions here are serious. Sixty men have died of pneumonia in the past month. The camp has been exposed to a general epidemic of measles, about 2,000 cases having occurred within the last month. During this same period they have had 175 cases of pneumonia and 15 cases of meningitis. The new conscripts of this command are men who are nonimmune to measles. They come from the neighboring southern States, where population is scarce, and therefore have not had measles in childhood. Always with measles a certain number of cases of pneumonia occur. The mortality of pneumonia from any cause is always high.

2. The basic insanitary condition, however, in my opinion, is overcrowding. In the past in this camp the division commander has had to put 11 and 12 men in a tent, due to the shortage of tentage. This would give about 20 square feet of space to each man. At present he has to put 9 men in a tent, which gives about 28 square feet to the man. I urge that the division commander be directed to furnish at least 50 square feet of floor space to the man, which would give about 5 men to the tent.

3. I also recommend that an observation camp be established where fresh men can be isolated and kept under observation for at least two weeks, or until the camp itself shows evidence of being free from infection.

4. The division commander tells me that he expects a large increase in the force at an early date. I urge that no fresh men be sent to this camp until the division commander says that he is able to care for them along the lines of this recommendation.

5. There has been a good deal of discomfort and exposure on account of the men having nothing but their summer clothing. This has been in great part corrected in the last 10 days by the arrival of woolen clothing and overcoats. The O. D. wool has not yet been issued, but the authorities are informed that it is on the way. The whole command is still in khaki.

6. Heat and plumbing are badly needed in the hospital. Both were authorized two weeks ago. I recommend that the matter be pressed and the hospital be equipped in this respect at just as early a date as is possible. The hospital needs badly more transportation. I recommend that they be furnished one motor car, one 3-ton truck, one 1½-ton truck, and one 1-ton truck. The hospital at present has 750 patients.

W. C. GORGAS.

CAMP BEAUREGARD, LA., December 1, 1917.

From: The Surgeon General, United States Army.

To: Chief of Staff, War Department, Washington.

Subject: Sanitary conditions, Camp Beauregard, Iowa.

1. During the past month this camp has had 38 deaths from pneumonia and 6 from spinal meningitis. During the same length of time they have had 2,300 cases of measles, 177 cases of pneumonia, and 11 cases of spinal meningitis. The immediate cause of the pneumonia from which the mortality comes is the epidemic of measles. Both the measles and pneumonia are on the decline. The sanitary conditions, however, I consider very serious, and steps should be taken at once, as far as possible, to remedy them.

The command is at present quartered at the rate of nine men to a tent. This gives about 28 feet of floor space to the man, and, in my estimation, is excessive overcrowding.

I recommend that the division commander be directed to put up sufficient tentage to give each man at least 50 feet of floor space, which would furnish about 5 men to a tent.

2. The camp has become infected with measles and meningitis by the transfer of infected troops from other camps. To avoid continued infection in this way an observation camp should be erected where new arrivals could be kept under observation for at least two weeks, and for such longer period of time as necessary while the main camp shows evidence of infection. This same precaution should be taken with regard to men being transferred to other camps.

3. The base hospital is located 4 miles from town. I recommend that the hospital be furnished at once with one 2-ton truck, one 1½-ton truck, and one 1-ton truck, and one motor car, urgently needed for its transportation.

4. The base hospital is located about 2 miles from camp and connected with camp by a very poor road. The road is in such poor condition that the transfer of sick from camp to hospital is hard on the patients. I recommend that the road between the hospital and camp be at once macadamized.

5. The men in general came to this camp in their summer clothing, and have suffered a good deal of discomfort on account of cold. The tendency to pneumonia has been increased by their exposure to the

cold in this badly clothed condition. Within the last two weeks the whole command has been furnished with winter underclothing. About half the men of the command have overcoats, but so far no olive-drab uniforms. The completion of the equipping of the command with winter clothing should be expedited as much as possible.

6. The division commander informs me that the placing of nine men to a tent was due to orders from Washington.

W. C. GORGAS.

DECEMBER 1.

Colonel, Medical Corps.

CHIEF OF STAFF,
War Department, Washington, D. C.

During the past month this camp has had 38 deaths from pneumonia and six deaths from spinal meningitis. During the same period 177 cases of pneumonia have been admitted to the hospital and 11 cases of spinal meningitis. An epidemic of measles exists, of which disease 2,300 cases have come on sick report during the past month. I consider sanitary conditions serious, though measles and pneumonia are now on the decline. The camp is much overcrowded, with nine men to the tent. I recommend that the division commander be directed to furnish not less than 50 square feet of floor space for each man, and that an observation section be established for the camp. I recommend that no more men be sent to this camp until the division commander is prepared to care for them along the lines of the above recommendations. Letter follows.

GORGAS.

MAJOR GENERAL.

CAMP BOWIE, FORT WORTH, TEX., December 3, 1917.

CHIEF OF STAFF, War Department, Washington:

Sanitary conditions here more serious than at other camps visited. In the last month 41 deaths from pneumonia with 409 admissions. Cause same as at other camps recently reported, primary causes overcrowding. Recommend that the division commander be directed to allow only five men to a tent and that no more men be sent to this camp until division commander says he is ready to receive them. Most urgent need in hospital of water, plumbing, and sewers. Urge this be ordered at once. Letter follows.

GORGAS.

CAMP BOWIE, FORT WORTH, TEX., December 3, 1917.

From: The Surgeon General of the Army.
To: The Chief of Staff, War Department, Washington.
Subject: Condition Thirty-sixth Division, Camp Bowie, Tex.

1. We have had in this camp during the past month 41 deaths from pneumonia, with 409 cases admitted. About 2,900 cases of measles in the same length of time. The causes of this condition are much the same as in the other camps reported upon. The great number of cases of measles is due to the fact that the men come from the sparsely settled States of Texas and Oklahoma and have not had measles in childhood, but the basic cause is due to the overcrowding of the camp. We have at present nine men to a tent. I recommend that the division commander be directed to furnish sufficient accommodations so that each man will be allowed fifty feet of floor space. This would give not more than five men to a tent.

2. Measles and other epidemic diseases are introduced into these camps by cases being brought by the incoming troops. To provide against this an observation camp should be established, where all newcomers could be kept under observation for at least fourteen days, and no new men should be placed in general camp until it is free from infection. I recommend that the division commander be directed to establish such observation camp, and that no fresh men be sent in until he is ready to receive them under the above instructions.

3. The command, until recently, has had nothing but their summer clothing. This has caused a great deal of discomfort, and probably increased the tendency to pneumonia. Most of the command has recently been issued woolen underclothing, and I am informed that the thick clothing for the whole command is now in camp, with the exception of overcoats, and are in process of being issued. I urge expediting the forwarding of overcoats as rapidly as possible.

4. The base hospital is in an unfinished condition; no water in the hospital, no plumbing or sewer connection. With the large number of patients in this institution this lack of water, plumbing and sewer connection causes serious inconvenience to the sick and increases greatly the burden of caring for them. I recommend that telegraphic instructions be sent to the division commander at once to put in plumbing, water and sewer connections. I also recommend that telegraphic instructions be sent to put in electric cookers in the diet kitchens in all of the wards.

5. I met by appointment last night the governor of Texas and the health officer of the State. They made several criticisms of conditions, which I thought were justified, but they were satisfied, I think, when I pointed out the impossibility of meeting in all respects the conditions that have been suddenly forced upon us, and that we were trying in every way to correct these conditions. A copy of the recommendations of Gov. Hobby, addressed to the division commander, was furnished me at our interview, which is inclosed herewith.

6. There is a great deal of uneasiness and criticism among the people with regard to conditions here, which are worse from a sanitary point of view than in any of the camps I have visited.

7. I think the recommendations I have made will tend to correct the existing sanitary errors, but I can not urge too strongly that they be put into effect at once. The camp site and surroundings are all that can be desired. The troops and general conditions are good, with the exception of such conditions as relate to the epidemic diseases at present prevailing.

MAJOR GENERAL, U. S. ARMY.

THE BASE HOSPITAL,
Camp Pike, Ark., December 5, 1917.

From: The Surgeon General.
To: The Chief of Staff.
Subject: Report on conditions at Camp Pike, Ark.

1. During the last month we have had at this post 57 deaths from pneumonia, with 241 admissions; 4 deaths from spinal meningitis, with 16 admissions; 2,100 cases of measles admitted; 128 cases of scarlet fever, with 11 deaths—the immediate cause of death in these cases being pneumonia, they are included under that heading; 124 cases of mumps. These figures indicate a serious condition of affairs

at this camp. The principal cause of measles, as has been pointed out in other camps, is that a large number of the troops came from the sparsely settled States and had not had measles before. The 16 cases of meningitis occurring within the month, 10 came from Fort Riley. This is an illustration of the way one camp can infect another by means of cases brought by incoming troops. All these infections have evidently been introduced into the camp by troops coming from other infected camps or by men who had been infected at their homes. An important means of preventing this for the future will be the building of observation camps, where the men can be kept under observation for at least two weeks before they are admitted to the general camp. As this camp shows such evidence of severe infection, I think the same observation camp could be established for those going out.

2. Crowding in this camp, I do not think exists to any appreciable extent. When the division shall have been filled, we will have about 40 square feet per man. As this camp shows such marked evidence of infection, I recommend that this be increased by means of additional buildings to 50 square feet per man.

3. The number of cases of measles admitted has been declining rapidly for the past 10 days, and I believe the present epidemic is over. The number of cases of pneumonia from measles, as would be expected, is on the increase and we should naturally expect a greater number of deaths from this disease during the next week or 10 days. Within the last 15 days 8,000 new men have been introduced into the camp. It is possible that when these 8,000 men begin to show infection, we will go through an epidemic similar to that through which we have just passed. However, as most of these men come from the thickly populated State of Iowa, I do not think it probable that they will have measles as severely as the men who have just been through the epidemic, but certainly until this matter is determined and the camp is free from infection, no additional men should be sent here. I recommend that the division commander be directed not to receive more men until he is able to comply with the recommendations above made concerning space and observation camps, and until this camp shows evidence of being free from infection.

4. One great difficulty here is lack of segregation. In Camp Bowie, for instance, if we get a case of meningitis in a tent of nine men it is a very easy matter to segregate these nine men and determine whether or no they have been infected. Here, with a squad room containing 120 men, this is much more difficult. I urge, therefore, that in extending this camp, as above recommended, that the quarters to be erected for this purpose and for the purpose of isolation contain not more than eight men.

5. The command has been in its summer clothing until recently. During the last month the winter clothing has begun to come in and the men are now pretty well supplied with thick clothing, though there are several commands in the camp that have not yet been fully supplied. This lack of clothing with the exposure to the cold has no doubt been an element causing large pneumonia rate.

6. The camp is well located and the camp site good. Cleanliness and order and general sanitary conditions, with the exception of the epidemics, seem to be excellent.

7. The hospital is nearly completed and is as well supplied as could be expected under the circumstances. At present they have in the hospital 1,251 patients. This somewhat crowds the hospital, as it was built for a thousand patients. The overflow is at present being cared for, and I think well cared for, by the use of the galleries. Additional nurses' quarters are needed, additional officers' quarters at the hospital, and additional barrack buildings for hospital attendants are needed. A small kitchen in the rear of the wards for contagious diseases and some addition to the administration building are needed. The hospital is very short of transportation. I recommend that one touring car and one 3-ton truck and one 1½-ton truck be permanently assigned to this hospital.

SURGEON GENERAL.

CAMP FUNSTON, KANS., December 7, 1917.

Colonel, Medical Corps.

CHIEF OF STAFF, Washington, D. C.

Strongly recommend that sites for detention, quarantine, observation camps, as selected on this reservation by the commanding general, Camp Funston, be approved. Action now being delayed by post commander on technical grounds of local command. Urgent that action be taken at once.

GORGAS.

CAMP FUNSTON, KANS., December 8, 1917.

From: The Surgeon General.
To: The Chief of Staff.
Subject: Sanitary report, Camp Funston.

1. During the past month, this command has had 84 deaths. Of these 84 deaths, 54 were from pneumonia, with 189 cases; 34 deaths from meningitis, with 70 cases; 131 cases mumps. This indicates a most serious condition of the cantonment, as far as infection from the two serious diseases, meningitis and pneumonia, are concerned. As emphasized in the draft situation, I call attention to the fact that they had 84 deaths from all causes, when the normal death rate of such a command should be about 12.

2. The reason for this condition, as we look back, is very evident. When the drafted troops were brought in, they came in large numbers, all at once. The cantonment was excessively crowded. Between October 4 and October 26, 36,000 drafted men were injected into the cantonment. Among these there were many meningitis carriers.

3. This part of the country is well known to all health officers as having been, for the last few years, the principal endemic center in its civil population for meningitis. Granting the conditions above mentioned, no further explanation is needed to explain the present conditions as to meningitis. I would attribute the form of pneumonia existing here principally to the past crowding of the cantonment. It is the same form that occasionally becomes epidemic when large numbers of men are brought together in a crowded space. The excessive dust, which blows about in blinding storms, has no doubt accentuated the condition, and as it occurred at the other cantonments, the lack of woolen clothing has also been a contributory cause. The cold weather in October, to which the men were exposed in summer clothing and without any heat in their barracks, tended in the same direction.

4. In discussing this matter, I will first treat it as if the conditions were new and nothing had been done, and will point out what should be done under such circumstances. As a matter of fact, the

epidemic has been excellently handled, and all measures I have to recommend have been put into effect as far as possible for the division commander to do so.

5. Meningitis and other infectious diseases were originally introduced from the outside. To meet this condition, observation camps should be established, where all men coming into the camp could be observed for at least two weeks, or such longer period as may be considered necessary. In this way, the men who had been infected could be picked out as they developed those diseases, and the incoming troops finally gotten out in an uninfected condition. The same process should be observed with troops leaving the camp as long as the camp showed evidence of infection. Orders should at once be given that no more troops be sent to this cantonment until the division commander states that he is ready to receive them.

6. The internal arrangement, as regards the isolation and caring for infectious diseases, should conform with those measures that are generally recognized as applying to these conditions, and that are at present being carried out most satisfactorily and successfully in the camp. As a matter of fact, all the above recommendations are being carried out at present, as far as lies in the power of the division commander. To cover the question of overcrowding, I recommend that at least fifty (50) square feet of floor space be allowed to every man.

7. I think, however, it would be wise for orders to be issued to Washington, directing that in the future the measures above recommended be carried out. My desire to have this done is with the object of giving the divisional commander the opportunity of asking for such material as he needs for putting up the observation camps he is at present constructing, and also with the idea that it may be an order that will govern all future commanders of this cantonment. I wish to particularly call attention to the telegram sent out regarding this matter, relative to ground for a detention camp in the post of Fort Riley. This is very much to be desired.

8. The camp has been located in the river bottom and is excessively dusty. In my experience, the use of oil on the roads and grounds has been very successful in lessening the dust. The division surgeon tells me that their experience here has shown that the use of oil for this purpose is very effective. I recommend that they be supplied with such amount of oil as they find necessary to meet this very unsanitary condition.

9. In their observation camp, as at present being erected here, they are using a tent, floored and framed with side walls, that holds five men each. I think this is an ideal condition. It gives complete segregation and no overcrowding. I recommend that as these tents wear out they be converted into permanent buildings by putting on a roof. I recommend that all future construction conform to the plan so wisely adopted in the observation camps, of allowing only five men to the building, which gives 50 square feet of floor space to the man, and segregates in bodies of five.

10. It is a very important element to get patients from various parts of the camp to the hospital promptly. For this purpose here the three motorized ambulance companies are used. Great difficulty is found in getting the motor ambulances started during the cold weather on account of the freezing of the water in the radiators. I recommend to obviate this the ambulance sheds be inclosed and heated.

MAJOR GENERAL, U. S. ARMY.

DECEMBER 27, 1917.

From: The Surgeon General.

To: The Chief of Staff.

Subject: Sanitary conditions at Camp Doniphan, Okla.

1. During the past month Camp Doniphan has had 74 admissions from pneumonia with 11 deaths, 316 cases of measles with 1 death, 104 admissions from diphtheria with 1 death, and 6 cases of meningitis with 4 deaths. While the number of cases and the number of deaths from the above-mentioned diseases are somewhat less than in other camps visited, the conditions in respect of those diseases is considered serious. The basic cause I consider to be overcrowding of the camp. At present there are nine men quartered in each tent, which gives a totally inadequate floor space for each man. I recommend that the division commander be directed to furnish sufficient tentage or other accommodations so that each man will be allowed 50 feet of floor space. This would give no more than five men to a tent.

2. Measles and meningitis were introduced into these camps by cases being brought by incoming troops. To provide against this in the future, it is recommended that an observation camp be established for all newcomers where they may be kept under observation for at least 14 days, or as much longer as may be considered necessary by the division surgeon, and no new men from observation camps should be placed in the general camp until it is free from infection. I recommend that the division commander be directed to establish such observation camp and that no fresh men be sent in until he is ready to receive them under the above instructions.

3. To properly control the spread of measles, meningitis, and pneumonia now confronting Camp Doniphan, it is necessary that tent contacts be immediately removed from the general camp upon the appearance of the first case of communicable diseases and placed in a separate detention camp for daily observation and treatment during the incubation period of the disease. It is recommended that such a detention camp be established for such contacts in addition to the observation camp previously recommended for incoming men.

4. The command until recently has had nothing but summer clothing. A great deal of discomfort has resulted and undoubtedly the tendency to pneumonia has been increased. I am informed that shipments are now coming in rapidly and that as fast as received are being issued to the men. From personal observation, however, I find that many men are still wearing their cotton khaki clothing.

5. The base hospital is in an unfinished condition. Many wards which are required for patients are not yet finished, and this has caused great embarrassment to the hospital authorities. The installation of a sewerage system and necessary plumbing in all buildings was authorized several weeks ago, and while work has been begun, it is now at a standstill, and the difficulties in caring for patients is greatly increased thereby. It is urgently recommended that the work of installation of sewers and plumbing be expedited.

W. C. GORGAS,
Surgeon General, United States Army.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. In order to get this thing before the Senate in a concrete form, I asked Gen. Gorgas to make me a detailed statement of the annual death rate per thousand from all causes. It is very short, and I will read it.

DEATH RATES ALL CAUSES.

Troops in United States September 21, 1917, to January 18, 1918.
Annual rate per 1,000.

All troops.	Regulars.	National Guard.	National Army.
8.2	4.71	10.04	8.53

The history of this country will show that wherever there has been a record of it kept, the men in the Regular Army suffer less from disease than any other body of soldiers, because they have learned to take care of themselves. They have been in the service long enough to know how. These young fellows that come from civil life have not learned that, and that is one of the reasons why it is necessary to take them into these camps for training.

Number of deaths among Regular troops in United States, Sept. 21, 1917, to Jan. 18, 1918.....	350
Average strength of Regulars for same period.....	214,428
Number of deaths among National Army troops in United States, Sept. 21, 1917, to Jan. 18, 1918.....	1,263
Average strength of National Army for same period.....	427,088
Number of deaths among National Guard troops in United States, Sept. 21, 1917, to Jan. 18, 1918.....	1,305
Average strength of National Guard for same period.....	375,354
Number of deaths all troops in United States, Sept. 21, 1917, to Jan. 18, 1918.....	2,918
Average total strength for this period.....	1,016,870

That gives in concrete form the number of deaths that have occurred.

Mr. President, what I contend is that if the authorities had complied with the recommendation that Gen. Gorgas has made all the time, of giving each of these men 50 square feet of floor space, and if in addition to that they had put in these observation camps within the cantonments, the percentage of deaths would have been very much diminished, and I doubt if there would have been one-half of the deaths that there have been.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, will it disturb the Senator if I ask him a question?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I will yield to the Senator this time, but I do hope I may be permitted to proceed without being further interrupted.

Mr. GALLINGER. I thank the Senator. Mr. President, I am particularly interested in this phase of the discussion relating to the health of our soldiers; and I will ask the Senator if he has inquired as to whether or not the recommendation of Gen. Gorgas that the floor space per soldier should be increased has been attended to, or whether any attempt has been made to remedy the evil?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. They are attempting it in some places, but it has not been carried out. Right in this connection I want to suggest that there is no law requiring it to be done; I do not know whether any is necessary or not; but the Medical Department, which has been making an effort right along to save the lives of these young men, can not get the things that they want.

Mr. OWEN. Of course not. They have no standing.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. They have not the standing with the line that they ought to have. Why, here we had four training schools for the commissioned and enlisted personnel of the Medical Corps and for doctors of the Medical Corps, where they could go and be trained. Two of them were cut out, and two left, and the Surgeon General is trying now to get the two enlarged so that they can train these men.

Mr. President, I am going to illustrate by two or three cases that the neglect of these young men is shameful. I am not going into it fully. I get many letters, but I am going to take the liberty of reading one or two, because I want the country to know that I know what I am talking about. I do not want to shock the conscience of America. I want America to know some of the facts, and, if need be, have them know all of the facts, in order that the mothers and fathers of these lads may write to those in authority, to the President and to the Senators as well as to the Representatives, and appeal to them, in the name of humanity and in the name of America, to see to it that these boys who are offering up their lives on the altar of their country may be protected wherever it is humanly possible to do it.

ST. LOUIS, MO., December 31, 1917.

Mr. GEO. CHAMBERLAIN,
Chairman Investigating Committee, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In behalf of a heart-broken family (a father, mother, two sisters and myself) I wish to register a complaint for the manner in which the case of my brother ———, was handled at the base hospital.

From the meager information my folks received, it appears that brother was stricken with a slight illness on Monday, December 10, and on Wednesday, the 12th, he was taken to base hospital at ——— with cerebro spinal meningitis, and on Tuesday, December 18, 10.20 a. m., he passed away.

First information my folks received was Friday, December 14. A neighbor lady received a letter from her son, a comrade of my brother,

advising he had seen brother fall out of ranks at drill and was carried on a stretcher to hospital.

My sister wired an officer (a friend of our family) in Company ———, Infantry, at noon Friday, December 14, to spare no expense and to wire, collect, details. Saturday morning, December 15, received a reply from the officer to the effect brother sent to base hospital with spinal meningitis, but condition favorable for recovery.

Upon receipt of latter telegram, sister wired a doctor in Company ———, Infantry, to wire details collect and to spare no expense. Sister also on December 15, Saturday, wrote three special-delivery letters to the officer, doctor, and a comrade, respectively, for particulars, but received no more information until Tuesday evening, 6 o'clock, a wire from the company officer that brother passed away 10.20 a. m., December 18. This wire was sent from Fort ——— at 3.15 p. m., December 18.

It doesn't seem that the Company ——— officers should have been required to furnish information in this case and that they only did so as a matter of respect for a lifetime friend and an appreciative family. Can it be possible that the Government hospital of this proud Nation of ours is not equipped to advise a father or mother of their son's misfortune in an authentic way, as not any of the information received came from the hospital direct? I notice daily in the papers that cablegrams are received clear across the ocean, advising condition of troops serving under our flag in France, but right at our doorstep our gallant soldiers might die and be buried without the knowledge of the father and mother, who supplied them, if it were not for the affection and thoughtfulness of their comrades.

My God, my colleagues and friends, if they are suffering here in America, with the blessings and comforts of home, surrounded by neighbors and friends, what must be the fate of these poor boys if they are sent abroad to meet the dangers and the treacherous and inhuman warfare and conditions that exist abroad?

For very palpable reasons I am not going to give the names of these people, but I want to show you that the letters breathe the spirit of patriotism. Having given up their sons to their country, they make no complaint, except in the hope that the example in their own family may set a precedent for better conditions and better service.

Now, note the spirit of patriotism that breathes through every line of this letter.

Brother's body was shipped with our instructions to his home, ———, Kans., for burial. I had the casket opened for identification purposes and was mortified beyond expression to find that, although brother died for his country, he was not placed in a uniform. He was not even clothed, being wrapped only in cotton and tied up in a sheet.

Also, discovered that a post-mortem had been held, which I understand is permissible only with consent of parents or relatives. The traces of embalming were very scarce and the features were gone entirely, making it impossible for a local undertaker to put the body in shape for my father and mother and sisters to view.

My brother is dead and in his grave and I can not expect to heal the wound in my broken heart by filing this complaint, but I am doing it all in a true American spirit and trust it will result in some good to those who may be so unfortunate as to lose their dear ones under similar circumstances. Would you be satisfied if this case applied to your brother?

Address all correspondence to me, as I do not care for my heart-broken father and mother to know all of the facts.

Mr. President, if I were to print in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD all the letters that I get along this line, it would shock not only Congress itself, but the American conscience as well. I put this in the RECORD, in order that the country may know that there is inefficiency; and, God help me, if I can assist in creating efficiency I am going to do it, if it costs me my political and my own life. Somebody, somewhere in this great Republic of ours, must look after these splendid young men who are doing their duty by and for their country. If I can be instrumental in saving one life, or in arousing my country to the necessity of trying to save thousands of lives, I shall feel that my life has not been illy spent. I, for one, believe in letting the sunlight in. Let but the American mothers and fathers realize that their sons might be better treated than they are, and while, like the parents of this young boy here, they will not ask for their discharge from the service, they will insist that the public servant whose duty it is to see to it will either do his duty or retire in disgrace from public life and public service.

I am tempted to read one more letter into the RECORD, Mr. President. I have tried to keep on an even keel in the discussion of this subject. I have great respect for the President, notwithstanding what he has done to injure me and my reputation in this country; and in order that I may try to convince him and others that the charge of inefficiency is well founded I am going to put in the RECORD one more of the numerous letters that have come to Senators on the Military Affairs Committee. I just want you to see that what I said awhile ago about the Medical Department is absolutely true. They do not give them competent assistants; they do not assign to them men to be trained, with the result that a blacksmith, or a carpenter, or a lawyer, or anybody else goes into these base hospitals to take care of and nurse these young men.

It does not make any difference that my own party is in power. If any other party were in power, and I occupied this position, I would show the truth just the same. If these conditions can be corrected and these agencies of the Government made more efficient, the men of the Senate and the

men of the House who neglect to do it are responsible to a higher tribunal, if you please, for the deaths of young men whose lives might have been saved if the proper authorities had but given this subject the attention that it is receiving at the hands of most of the members of the Military Affairs Committee at this time.

Why, my colleagues, this is not a new thing. Great Britain went through it. Pick up the paper this morning, and you will find the Secretary of the Admiralty, Dr. McNamara, being interrogated by a Member of Parliament to ascertain the truth with reference to the destruction of ships. They are keeping it away now from the British public as far as they can, but they are compelling them either to remain silent or tell the truth with reference to the destruction of human life by submarines. Let us turn the sunlight in on this thing, and we need never fear but that the American people will rally to the standard and follow President Wilson into the thick of the fray wherever their services may be needed.

I am going to read one more letter. I hope you do not think I am doing this for sensational purposes. I am doing it to illustrate a condition that exists, and a condition that can be remedied if they will only try to do it. There is not any reason why these things can not be remedied or have not been done.

One of the members of the committee hands me this letter. I might have gone over to my private files and gotten more of them; but this was handed to me, and I thought I would just call your attention to it.

DEAR SIR AND FRIEND: As you know, I have recently lost a son——

Mr. STONE. Who was that?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. One of the members of the Military Affairs Committee. I can show the Senator a great many more, addressed to me, if he wants them.

Mr. STONE. The Senator did not name the member.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Oh, I have no objection to naming him. He is one of the most active and best-informed men on the committee, and he is a Republican, too. I refer to the Senator from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH]. It does not make any difference to me in this fight what a man's politics are.

Having told the Senator's name, I do not know whether I ought to read the letter.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I have no objection.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. The Senator has no objection? All right. I believe I said that I would not mention the name in connection with the letter, but it was delivered to me, at my request, because it accompanied other letters of the same character that were being read to show the horrors of this situation.

The Hon. ———,

DEAR SIR AND FRIEND: As you know I have recently lost a son with spinal meningitis at ———. I am writing to you as one that I know to be greatly interested in the welfare of our soldier boys, and ready to do anything in your power for their well being, and because you know me and will know whether to give credit to what I say.

Please know in the very beginning that I do not write to criticize the Government in any sense, nor to lay complaint against any one in authority. I realize that in the stupendous task before us as a Government, and with the great diversity of interests involved, that it is impossible that there should not occur some things that should be corrected. It is with the hope that I may help somewhat with the task before us that I lay bare the facts as I found them in connection with my son's sickness at ———.

Through friends entirely independent of the Army officers, and the medical staff, I learned of my son's sickness after he had been in the hospital for six days. With my wife I went immediately to the camp, arriving there the morning of ———. I found my son in the meningitis ward of the base hospital. It was the eighth day of his sickness, as I was informed by the attending physician. His mother and I and ———, were permitted to see him through a window at the head of his bed. The small room in which he was lying contained one other bed on which was a patient; a stove in which there appeared to be no fire. The room was not simply unsanitary, it was filthy, begging description. The bed on which my son was lying was even more filthy than the room. I can not describe to you the condition of my son's body. Except to say that neither his hands nor face had been washed in eight days. (The attendant admitted this to me.) The reason given for his being in this condition was that he, the attendant, had but one helper in the ward and there was 18 cases there at that time. I asked if I might put a nurse in there to take care of him and the physician said that could not be allowed. I offered to put in a trained nurse and pay all expenses.

I then asked if I myself might be allowed to go in and clean him up and take care of him. The physician, very kindly in manner all of the time, said that it could not be. I then asked if I would bring clean clothes for him if they would clean him up and put them on him so that his mother might see him again and not have to remember him in the plight she had just seen him. They said they would gladly do so. I went to ——— and got clean clothes, and when I returned they had made some effort to wash his face and hands, although they were still grimy and black. His clothes were changed, his bed straightened out, and his mother was called to see him again. There was no change made in the condition of the room. Before leaving I again made a plea to be permitted to care for him, gladly taking all risk, but the rules were inflexible, I could not be admitted in any way. The attending physician was kind to us and I do not wish to imply that he was in any way to blame. He told us, however, as we were about to leave that we should not return for three or four days. To this order I had no intention of

giving heed, neither did I. His mother did not see him again. The next morning early his father-in-law ———, of ———, went to the ward, while the mercury was done about zero there was no fire in the room, the bedding was on the floor, the boy lay on the bed naked with the exception of a thin night shirt that was up around his neck.

About 3 o'clock that afternoon I found him in the same condition and the room without fire. The next morning at about 8 o'clock we found him in practically the same condition. No one knew of our visits to the hospital except two workmen, who were working on the sewer ditch in front of the hospital. To them I made myself known and the purpose of my going to the hospital. I refer now, of course, to the visits we made after we were instructed not to visit the hospital. On neither of these visits was there an attendant in the room or fire in the stove. A perfectly well man would have become sick in that room. The mercury was around zero all of the time.

At this time I went direct to the chief of the medical staff and told him the situation and asked to be permitted to go and attend my boy. He immediately gave orders that I be admitted and be given every facility for caring for my son. I went at once, but I was too late, as he died about 15 minutes after I got into the ward and before I was permitted to do anything for him.

That you may know something of the fearful handicap that the Government works under in the matter of competent help, I give you this one instance.

Now, I want you to note this:

I requested the attendant to give my son a drink of water. He went out and brought in a small bowl of water, and tried to get son to drink from it, but he could not. He said I guess that I had better get a funnel. (The boy was lying on his back with his mouth open.) He came back in a moment with a funnel made of a piece of newspaper, and, putting it in my son's mouth, was in the act of pouring the bowl of water into my son's throat when I stopped him. He said what shall I do? I said get a spoon. The poor fellow had not thought of that. My son died in a few moments.

I at once hastened to the office of the adjutant, and asked for the body, and was very courteously treated and assured that I could have the body that evening. I then hastened back to the ward where my son died to see how the body was prepared for burial, and, as I had my pass into the building, I did not stop and knock but opened the door to enter when it struck something that would not let it open further. I looked and saw that it was my son's body lying on the floor of the hall, and it was his head that I struck with the door.

I received every possible courtesy from the officers and medical attendants at the base hospital. I am not now filing any complaint against any man. I have no other purpose in giving you these facts than to get you to do your utmost to see that these boys of ours who are yet to die at these camps may have the care that every true man wishes that they might have. There are at least four witnesses to most all of the facts that I have written here who will be willing to testify to the truth of them if it would be the means of helping the authorities to bring about better conditions.

I trust, ———, that you will believe me when I say that I am not in any sense seeking revenge for the death of my son. If in his dying he is the means of securing better attention for the many boys that are yet to suffer and die in these camps, I shall feel that his death was not in vain. Wishing for you success in your endeavors for humanity, I am,

Sincerely, your friend,

I read this because I want you to see the patriotic spirit in the hearts of this people, notwithstanding these things exist, which should be remedied.

Mr. TILLMAN. Who wrote that?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I will show it to the Senator confidentially.

Mr. TILLMAN. It ought to be given to the country.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, I want everyone to know that I am speaking from the record of things and not indulging in any camouflage when my country's fate is at stake. I have put these letters in the Record, horrible as they are, simply because I want to arouse the people of this country so that every mother and every father who has sent a son to this Army, whether as a volunteer or as a drafted man, will write to the President of the United States and to Members of Congress from their respective districts in the same patriotic spirit in which these two letters are written, when those sons have died of neglect, not for revenge, not to punish anybody connected with this great Military Establishment in this crisis that confronts us, but in order that the fate of a beloved son or brother or husband, if you please, may arouse the attention of the country to the necessities of the occasion and save the lives of young men who are valuable units for the salvation and protection of America.

Mr. President, I have talked longer than I intended. I could not in one day strike bottom with the evidence we have showing inefficiency, and I am saying this without any unkind feeling toward Secretary Baker. When these measures come up for consideration, if the Senate wants to go into it more fully, the testimony will be printed, and I think if Senators want to act on their own judgment rather than because the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy wants a thing to be done, I can convince them these laws ought to be passed.

I realize that we ought not to cripple the hand of the President. There is not anybody who wants to do that, but no man's judgment is as good as the concrete judgment of America. I do not care who he may be and how great he may be, he can not know as much as the world knows. I know how busy the President is, and I want to help him. God knows I would do anything to help him, notwithstanding the opinion he has of me as expressed in his public statement, and I believe I can say

without egotism that no man has tried harder to help him in everything that he has desired for the proper conduct of this war than I. I have not done it because it was his or any man's policy. I have done it because America was at war and these things appealed to me as being right, and because I thought the country needed them. I voted to sustain the coal order the other day, although I thought it was a foolish order made by Mr. Garfield. I voted for it on the theory that I wanted to help save the young lives of America and our allies in France. The evidence before the committee shows that at the time the order was made there were over 127 vessels in the harbor of New York loaded with supplies for the allies, and they could not get coal to send them out. That is the reason why I voted to sustain that order.

My friends, if there had been any program in this war; if there had been any plan laid out for the conduct of this war the coal situation never would have happened, and that is what I am complaining of. That is why our committee proposes in one of its bills to have a war cabinet that can map out a program or policy under the sole direction and authority of the President for six months, or any length of time, as any business man would do. In this great business establishment of ours, because war is a great business proposition now, why has not some plan been worked out, and I challenge the production of a plan or a program. There is not anybody connected with the establishment who has time to do it. The distinguished President of the United States could not do it if he tried, because he has more to do now than he can possibly attend to. The war cabinet of Great Britain do not do anything else than is indicated in the bill which the committee has prepared.

I think there was one thing in the statement I made in New York to the effect that the Military Establishment had almost ceased functioning. That is a pretty broad charge. I repeat the charge, and as evidence of it I call your attention to this fact: There was a Quartermaster General's Department that had \$800,000,000 to expend for supplies for the Government. It, practically under the instruction of the distinguished Secretary of War, turned the whole thing over to a distinguished retired merchant or manufacturer of worsted goods—I think his business was at Cleveland, Ohio—and the Quartermaster General's Department has simply been a rubber-stamp proposition since war was declared. If turning over the functions of this great office to a civilian merchant was not a cessation of functioning on the part of the Government, what in Heaven's name would you call it? This agent made the contracts to be signed by the Quartermaster General, he prepared for the manufacture of the commodities, bought the goods, and presented them to the Quartermaster General for distribution, and that is all. I felt sorry for the Quartermaster General. Not only did they do that, but they took the soldiers' overcoats that were 100 per cent wool, even then lighter than the British and the French, and reduced the woolen content to 65 per cent wool and 35 per cent of shoddy or reworked wool, and then they got along so nicely with that they reduced the wool content of soldiers' overcoats to 50 per cent of wool and 50 per cent of shoddy or reworked goods.

Mr. THOMAS. What is the name of the man?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Eisenman. I have no criticism of Mr. Eisenman. No matter what people may say about him he has done or tried to do a patriotic work. He may be criticized about very many things, but I think he has done fairly well. What I am getting at just now is not what he has done, but the surrender of this function by the Quartermaster Department to an individual.

The answer to that was that it was to conserve wool. There may be a woolen shortage, but France has not found it necessary to conserve wool in that way. If anybody has got to wear shoddy it ought to be the civilian who stays at home, and we should give the soldier the best uniform it is possible to make in America. If there must be a shortage of provisions let the civilian who stays at home go short and hungry, but feed the soldier who is to carry the gun. That may be a wrong conception of duty, but that is the way it appeals to me.

Mr. President, I wish to give another indication of inefficiency, and I want you to understand I am not doing this in any spirit of unfriendliness to the Secretary of War. He has been my personal friend. I am only doing it because I feel it is my duty. As another evidence of inefficiency the woolgrowers of the West came here last April, I think, shortly after the war broke out, and offered to furnish the Government with the clip of that year. The Government did not take it because they thought the price charged was too high, and possibly the growers were charging a pretty good price. It was a little below or about the current market price, but the authorities would not take it. Later on they came here again and offered it and the authorities

would not take it. Later on we made contracts for large quantities of wool, but wool had then gone up to a very high figure.

Now, Mr. President, anybody would have known, it seems to me, any efficient business man must have known, that to clothe a million and a half men or possibly two million men we would have to buy every pound of wool possible and manufacture it into clothing. Yet it went into the hands of speculators and dealers, and when the Government got ready to buy, it had to buy at a high price. I think all will agree with me that while there has been great work performed there has been much left undone that might have been done if efficient methods had been in vogue in the War Department.

Now, we have only investigated two great departments, but we are going to investigate others. Notwithstanding some may object to our making these investigations, we feel that it ought to be done. The President says in his statement—

Mr. VARDAMAN. May I ask the Senator a question?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Oregon yield to the Senator from Mississippi?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I would very much rather not yield.

Mr. VARDAMAN. I merely wish to ask the Senator who fixes the weight of the textiles worn?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. It has been determined in these cases by Mr. Eisenman in consultation with other members of the Council of National Defense, and the Quartermaster General, and other officers, but his judgment has generally been followed.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Is it lighter than it was?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. It is not lighter, but the texture now used is not as warm as wool.

Mr. VARDAMAN. What was the purpose?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. The conservation of wool. I would rather have more attention paid to the conservation of life, as is done in France and Great Britain.

A young British officer the other day appeared before our committee dressed in a splendid uniform, a good deal heavier in ounces than our uniforms.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Possibly the answer of the Senator to the question may be misunderstood. I hope he will make it clear that the uniforms for our soldiers are made of material which is 4 ounces per yard lighter than those worn by the British or French soldier.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. That is correct. I stated it in general terms, but I did not show the exact difference. I am glad the Senator gave it.

Now, Mr. President, let me call attention to what the President says in his public statement:

There have been delays and disappointments and partial miscarriages of plans, all of which have been drawn into the foreground and exaggerated by the investigations which have been in progress since the Congress assembled—investigations which drew indispensable officials of the department constantly away from their work and officers from their commands and contributed a great deal to such delay and confusion as had inevitably arisen. But, by comparison with what has been accomplished, these things, much as they were to be regretted, were insignificant, and no mistake has been made which has been repeated.

Nothing helpful or likely to speed or facilitate the war tasks of the Government has come out of such criticism and investigation. I understand that reorganizations by legislation are to be proposed—I have not been consulted about them and have learned of them only at second hand—but their proposal came after effective measures of reorganization had been thoughtfully and maturely perfected, and inasmuch as these measures have been the result of experience, they are much more likely than any others to be effective, if the Congress will but remove the few statutory obstacles of rigid departmental organization which stand in their way.

Now, with all due respect for the President of the United States, he serves notice on Congress that they had no business meddling with this affair either by investigation or legislation. If the Senate of the United States feels it to be its duty to go into an investigation, it must not do so unless its course meets the smile of Executive favor. Now, I differ radically and essentially from that view. We are a great coordinate part of this Government; and I am going to take the liberty of calling the attention of my Democratic friends to a Democrat of days gone by, a leader who dared to protest against Executive interference with congressional action. When I become a rubber stamp in the discharge of my duty I shall get out of the Senate and out of public life and let some one more subservient take my place. You will remember, Senators, that there was on one occasion another Democrat in the Senate, who was appointed the leader of his party, when there was a Democrat in the White House. You remember when the famous Wilson bill was up for consideration it did not meet with Executive favor as it passed this body, and the President wrote a pretty stiff letter while the bill was in conference between the two bodies upbraiding Congress for what it had done.

That letter was read into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by Mr. Wilson, who was chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the House, and although he had been in conference according to the RECORD with his comembers, the first time any of them

saw it was when it was printed in the RECORD or possibly printed in a paper. Now, here is what Senator Arthur Pue Gorman, of Maryland, said about that letter. I have not indulged in any such hostile criticism as this, both because I have too much respect for the great office he holds, and further because I am in perfect sympathy with all the President wants to do in prosecuting this war. I want to help him. There is no anger in my heart and no malice. I want my friends to distinctly understand that. I would go to the White House at any hour of the day or night to help the President win this war and discuss any proposition that might come up, no matter what he thinks of me. I place my country above all other considerations.

Here is what Mr. Gorman said on the occasion referred to:

As I have said, sir, this is a most extraordinary proceeding for a Democrat, elected to the highest place in the Government, and fellow Democrat in another high place, where they have the right to speak and legislate generally, to join with the commune in traducing the Senate of the United States, to blacken the characters of Senators who are as honorable as they are, who are as patriotic as they ever can be, who have done as much to serve their party as the men who are now the beneficiaries of your labor and mine, to taunt and jeer at us before the country as the advocates of trusts and as guilty of dishonor and perfidy.

Mr. President, it is time to speak. The limit of endurance has been reached. The Senate owes it to itself. Every Senator here who is a part of this Democratic majority owes it to himself. There is no power, no matter how great, in this country, even the President with his patronage, that would keep me silent longer under the charges, under the imputations so freely made from such distinguished quarters. I hurl back the accusation—

Says Senator Gorman—

and say that this treatment of their fellows is discreditable. It is destructive to the Government that men in high position should attempt to lower this body, a conservative body, consisting, when full, of 88 worthy representatives of States.

No man can reach here by devious ways and remain long. The Senate is composed of men who represent the best thought of the country, men who have stood and battled for tariff reform when those in higher places dared not show their heads; men who, when another place was overrun and those in it had not the courage to stand and fight a tyrant, stood here at the risk of health, at the risk of fortune, of all that is dear, and saved the liberties of the country. Then these traducers of the Senate could not be seen. We will not be traduced longer, Mr. President, the facts must come.

I glory in the spirit that was shown by Senator Gorman. I occupy a little different position. This charge by our distinguished President has not been hurled at the Senate; it is hurled at my devoted head. I am only one of 96; I am only a unit in this body; but above and over it all is a great principle that the Senate, Democrats and Republicans, and the country at large ought to stand for. It may be me to-day; it may be the Senate to-morrow, or any or some individual Member; it may come in five years when somebody else is in the Senate; it does not make any difference who that person may be; I insist upon the principle, not because I have been assailed; that this body as a coordinate branch of the Government has a right to speak as it pleases as to conditions. The Senate can investigate any man or any set of men that it sees fit to investigate, and do it at its own sweet will without suggestion and without let or hindrance. If the Senate will only assert that right once, then we will not be troubled with this condition very often in the future. The Senate ought to assert its dignity and its part and parcel in this great governmental machine.

Now, let us go back a little longer and see what other great men in this country thought about Executive interference with legislative business, because, with all due respect to the President, that is what the statement quoted means, that we are interfering by these investigations and hindering the proper conduct of the war.

Here is what Senator Blackburn read into the RECORD while this discussion was on, and, by the way, let me say that two distinguished Senators from the South, Senator Vest, of Missouri, and Senator Jones, of Arkansas, took the same position. God bless them! May sweet memories of them long linger around these sacred halls and may their spirits animate the Senate in the discharge of its duty during the whole conduct of this war.

Senator Blackburn read this into the RECORD from an old foggy of the days gone by, but he had some part to play and played it gallantly in the early days of the Republic. Mr. Blackburn read this from Washington's Farewell Address:

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those intrusted with its administration to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power and proneness to abuse it, which predominate in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position.

The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions of the other, has been evinced by experiments, ancient and modern—some of them in our country, and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as

necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way in which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this in one instance may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Senators, I am not resenting the intimation contained in the President's statement about these investigations, constituting an interference with the prosecution of the war, but I am simply calling the attention of the Senate to the condition that may confront them at almost any time. However, is it entirely true that this investigation has done no good? Why, Mr. President, there has been an attempted reorganization of the military system since we started into it. Of course, it is claimed that the reorganization was commenced before we got busy. For instance, with all due deference to my good friend, Gen. Sharpe, who is a splendid man and a patriotic citizen, he was wholly unfitted for that job, and he has gone out of it, and they have put Gen. Goethals in. That is a part of the reorganization. With all due deference to my friend, Gen. Crozier, who has been a gallant soldier and a brilliant man, I think that in these days that move so fast, perhaps, he was not quite the man for the place, and he was practically taken out of the active control of the Ordnance Department, and Gen. Wheeler was put in.

What else have they done? They have put Mr. Eisenman just where he was with the old régime but under Gen. Goethals. They have put into the Ordnance Department another distinguished gentleman, Mr. Samuel McRoberts, who is a very able man, and I think will possibly help bring order out of chaos.

Mr. TILLMAN. Will the Senator answer an inquiry?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Oregon yield to the Senator from South Carolina?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Yes.

Mr. TILLMAN. I want to know what the Military Affairs Committee was doing while all this mismanagement was going on?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. In time of peace?

Mr. TILLMAN. Oh, no. The War Department has been reorganized.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. We are trying now, I will say to the Senator from South Carolina, to help out things. I do not want to mention any names, but I could mention the names of distinguished Members of the Senate and House who have always stood in opposition to a reorganization that was a reorganization in fact, and they are doing it now.

Mr. TILLMAN. I have never opposed a reorganization in the War Department, but I do oppose any reorganization of the Navy Department.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Well, we have not proposed any such reorganization. If the Senator will only take the trouble to read the bill which we have here, he will find that it does not take an iota of power away from the President. It gives him more. There is no effort being made to create a single organization that the President could not control.

But, getting back to the point I was making, I desire to say that this investigation has done good; it has removed some inefficiencies, and is bringing about some changes in a defective organization. But the Secretary still retains the Council of National Defense and its subcommittees as a purchasing or some sort of an agency between the President and the Army. It has no power, but is simply an advisory body. It can not nor can its committees enforce its orders.

Mr. OWEN. With no statutory power?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. With absolutely none. The Council of National Defense is simply an advisory body, that is all; it has no executive power. Those are the boards that are to take charge of and handle this new organization.

I say, instead of having this voluntary organization between the President and the Army, they ought to have one strong man between the President and the Army completely under the President's direction and control to handle this whole situation, and to utilize whatever organizations are now or may be created by order of the President. I merely call your attention to the fact that we have done some good.

Senators, the President says that we have not consulted him about this legislation. I am very sorry the President said that. Now, speaking as a Democrat, and not as an American for a few moments—[laughter in the galleries]—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair wishes to admonish the occupants of the galleries that any signs of approval or disapproval will result in a clearing of the galleries. This is positive, and will be done.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. The Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HITCHCOCK] and I, while these hearings were going on, went to the White House and told the President the way things had

been developing before the committee and that we thought he ought to know it. We went into it pretty fully. We stayed there an hour. I think the President was surprised at some of the things we told him; in fact, he expressed surprise. The remedy was the thing that was in our minds. I said that the proposition for a director of munitions had been under consideration by me for a long while; that I had been studying the British system, and that something like that as a strong intermediary between the President and the Army ought to be a remedy for the situation. The conversation was not confidential, as I understood. We were simply talking about conditions. I would not even refer to it but for the fact that it is charged as to our committee—a splendid body of men—that none of them had discussed this legislation with the President. The President did not approve or disapprove, but he had the information just the same.

Several days afterwards—I do not know how long—the President wrote a letter to me in reference to that bill. I would not give that letter to the public but for the fact that I am charged by the President with a distortion of the truth. Now, I am compelled, in defense of my own reputation, as well as in order that the position of this committee may be understood, to put the letter in the RECORD, and I am going to do so. The letter is as follows:

(Personal.)

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, January 11, 1918.

MY DEAR SENATOR: When you and Senator HITCHCOCK were at the White House the other evening we were discussing various suggestions of coordination and means of speeding up the military programme and among other things you told me that you had in mind a bill for the creation of a munitions ministry.

That, of course, set my mind to work on that particular suggestion, and I feel that I ought to say to you, now that the matter is clear in my mind, that I hope sincerely no such recoordination will be attempted. For one thing, it would naturally include the Navy as well as the Army and would, so far as the Navy is concerned, bring about, I fear, a dislocation of activities which would cause delay where there is none that is avoidable; and in regard to the Army, I think that nothing substantial would be accomplished. Indeed, I believe that delay would inevitably be produced by such a measure.

I have had in the last few months a great deal of experience in trying to coordinate things, and upon every fresh coordination delay inevitably results and not only delay, but all sorts of cross currents of demoralization which are very serious impediments to the effective conduct of business.

Rather intimate information from the other side of the water convinces me that the munitions ministries which have been set up there have not fulfilled the expectations of those who advocated them, and the structure of those governments is so utterly different from our own that we could not, if we would, create any such parity of power and influence between the head of such a bureau and the heads of the permanent departments as can be created under such political arrangements as the French and English.

In short, my dear Senator, my judgment is decidedly that we would not only be disappointed in the results, but that to attempt such a thing would greatly embarrass the processes of coordination and of action upon which I have spent a great deal of thought and pains, and which I believe are more and more rapidly yielding us the results we desire.

I felt that I ought not to keep you in ignorance of what had been going on in my mind with regard to this important matter.

Cordially and sincerely yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

Hon. GEORGE E. CHAMBERLAIN,
United States Senate.

Was it quite fair for him to charge that he had not been consulted?

Mr. JAMES. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Oregon yield to the Senator from Kentucky?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I yield.

Mr. JAMES. Is it not true that the President when he stated that he had not been consulted referred to the "superior war cabinet" bill and not to the "munitions ministry" bill?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. That may be so; I think it is susceptible of that construction.

Mr. JAMES. I will say to the Senator that, hearing on yesterday that he was construing the letter of the President, which referred merely to the proposed munitions ministry bill, as a reference to the "superior war cabinet" and therefore that he intended to urge that position as rather questioning the President's statement, I called up the White House and told the President of my information. He sent me a letter which I am sure the Senator will not have the slightest objection to being read by the Secretary.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I will be glad to have it go into the RECORD.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the Secretary will read.

The Secretary read as follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, January 23, 1918.

MY DEAR SENATOR: You have been kind enough to tell me that you had heard that I had written a letter to the chairman of the Senate Military Affairs Committee concerning the idea of a munitions minister, and you asked me whether I did write such a letter. I did, and am glad to send you herewith a copy of it.

The consultation referred to with Senator CHAMBERLAIN, to whom the letter is addressed, was upon the subject of the various difficulties and delays that had been encountered by the War Department, as shown by the testimony before the Senate committee, and the Senator merely mentioned to me that he had a bill in mind to create a munitions ministry. He gave me no detail of the bill he had in mind, and it was only when I learned afterwards from others of the real character of the proposals that I felt it my duty to write to the Senator and appraise him of my attitude. I assumed from what I heard later that that particular proposal had been abandoned, and I was referring in my statement of the other day to the very surprising proposal to create a superior war cabinet of a type unknown to our practice or institutions.

I give you these details merely to reply to your kind inquiry and let you know all the facts of the case as you desire.

Cordially and sincerely, yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

HON. OLLIE M. JAMES,
United States Senate.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I am very glad, indeed, to have that go into the RECORD. The letter practically states the facts. The letter to me states them just as clearly, because it mentions the same proposal for the creation of a director of munitions.

Mr. JAMES. But it is true, I believe the Senator in perfect fairness to the President would like to say, that the President's statement that he was not consulted about the "superior war cabinet" bill was true. He was not consulted about that, was he?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Well, that is subject to some qualifications. Without questioning the statement of the President, let me tell you what happened. The Military Affairs Committee on Friday appointed the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HITCHCOCK] as a committee of one to go down and confer with the Secretary of War, which he did. Whether the President was informed about it or not, I do not know.

Mr. JAMES. Is it quite fair, does the Senator think, to charge the President with having information that was given by a Senator to a member of his Cabinet? Probably the Cabinet had not met and the matter had never been discussed.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I did not intend to be understood as questioning the veracity of the President in any way; I am only stating what did happen.

Mr. JAMES. I feel sure the Senator did not; but I believe that, upon second thought, the Senator will realize when he reads the letter the President directed to him, together with the letter directed to me, they make it perfectly clear that the President is absolutely right in his statement that he was not consulted.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for a moment?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I really should like to go on.

Mr. WILLIAMS. The President said that he had information about the war-cabinet bill, but that he got it secondhand.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Let us not be misunderstood about it. Here is the President's language in his published statement:

I understand that reorganizations by legislation are to be proposed. I have not been consulted about them and have learned of them only at secondhand.

I do not know whether that is broad enough to include the munitions bill or not; but that is the language used. I am just stating my version of it. It goes to the country just the same that I was trying to "put over" something on the President without letting him know anything about it; that is all. I do not want that impression to go out. I am not questioning the veracity of the President, even if mine has been questioned.

There is much that I might say, but only one thing I want to say in conclusion. The President in his statement says that:

To add, as Senator CHAMBERLAIN did, that there is inefficiency in every department and bureau of the Government is to show such ignorance of actual conditions as to make it impossible to attach any importance to his statement.

As I undertook to show the President in my letter, I was referring to the Military Establishment only in my impeachment, and my audience understood that I was referring to the Military Establishment. I did not want it understood that I impeached the efficiency of every department of the Government. The statement was really a little broader in that regard than I would have made it if I had sat down and had written the speech. I would have confined it to the War Department. It was a sweeping statement, impulsively and impetuously made, and intended by me to include only the Military Establishment. I think I tried to explain that it was too sweeping, and now in this public manner I state that I did not intend to impeach the efficiency of all the departments of the Government. I was in no position to do that. I had not investigated as to all, but I intended to impeach, and I do impeach, the efficiency of the Military Establishment, and I think I have shown enough to sustain my charge of inefficiency.

Now, it is said we have not done any good. Let me tell you that that very statement of inefficiency has done some good, not only as regards the War Department, as stated by me

a while ago, but it has speeded up at least one other department. My good friend Secretary Redfield, very courteously inclosed me this letter. I will not have it read but I will put it in the RECORD, to show that my statement induced the Secretary to appeal to his whole office force to try to speed up and do better, so that the charge of inefficiency might not rest on them. I admire the spirit in which Secretary Redfield took my suggestion. It was a suggestion made to help and not to hurt. I ask that Secretary Redfield's letter be inserted in the RECORD at this point.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. In the absence of objection, it is so ordered.

The letter referred to is as follows:

"THRIVE BY THRIFT, BUY WAR SAVINGS STAMPS."
DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, January 23, 1918.

MY DEAR SENATOR: The letter of which the inclosed is a copy has been handed each member of the department's force in Washington and placed by publication before its force throughout the country.

Yours, very truly,

WILLIAM C. REDFIELD,
Secretary.

HON. GEORGE E. CHAMBERLAIN,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, January 21, 1918.

To the officers and workers in the Department of Commerce:

United States Senator GEORGE E. CHAMBERLAIN, chairman of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, is reported through the press to have said on the 19th instant, in an address before the National Security League:

"The military establishment of America has fallen down * * * it has almost stopped functioning * * * because of inefficiency in EVERY BUREAU and in EVERY DEPARTMENT of the Government of the United States."

The emphasis is mine.

We in this department form no part of the military establishment, though in every branch we are in full cooperation with it. We are included, however, under the charge that inefficiency "in EVERY bureau" and "in EVERY department" has led to the result said to exist. If it exists it is said to be at least in part our fault. All departments, all bureaus, are sentenced together. Such a statement from such a source must (if we may assume it to be correctly reported), be given weight. It is either true or false as regards ourselves. What lesson can we learn from it?

Candidly I had not believed any such sweeping condemnation could be justly made of our mutual service. The words of cordial praise that comes often unsolicited from many sides about every one of our services, the commendation of the business and industrial world, the noble spirit of self-sacrifice so freely shown by you in many forms, the known and definite results of our common efforts, the constant touch with all our work that you know it is my pleasure and privilege to try to maintain, these and what I had permitted myself to think 30 years of industrial and executive experience had taught me had led to the belief that in this department, so far as the law and the funds at our disposal permit, we have on the whole a highly effective organization even when judged by severe standards of industrial practice. Nor, let me say in justice to you, am I aware that any external inquiry into the work of the department has been made upon which to base a charge to the contrary effect. We are, as you know, constantly studying our work in all its forms with a view to its improvement.

But this is beside the mark. Our work, if good, will speak for itself. We have neither duty nor right of self-praise. What I ask you, every one of you, to consider for yourself is whether this charge is true of you, of your division or bureau, of your part, whatever it be, in our common work. For now more than ever must we do our work well. The slacker in work, if such there be, plays Germany's game. Inefficiency is a sin against your country. Red tape, unless required by law, is an offense against patriotism. Let us speak plainly. If inefficiency exists it must cease or the ineffective ones must go. This is no hour for hesitancy about persons.

But having thus in all seriousness said, let me add in conclusion that I fully believe the firm confidence I hold in you is for sufficient cause and will be more than justified by the high effectiveness of your service.

Yours, very truly,

WILLIAM C. REDFIELD,
Secretary.

• Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. God knows I have tried my very best to do things here to help speed the work of preparation for this war, not as a Democrat, but because my heart was in it and because I believe it was right to do so. I have frequently done things in opposition to members of my own party and in opposition to many distinguished men on the Republican side, but together we have tried to improve the Military Establishment.

The last suggestion of the President in his charge against me is:

I am bound to infer that that statement sprang out of opposition to the administration's whole policy rather than out of any serious intention to reform its practice.

Et tu, Brute! That is "the unkindest cut of all." My colleagues, I have stood here in season and out of season to get through nearly every piece of military legislation that has been put on the statute books in the past three years and that my friend Baker now boasts of and that the President is proud of, with what success I leave to the Senate and to the country to judge. I have taken charge of other measures here. I do not claim any credit for that; I give my colleagues equal credit for

these things; but I happened to represent the committees on the floor, and I worked most assiduously all the time. I will say this, however, that I have not stood for any measure because it was any man's measure; I have stood for it because it was for America, to assist her in this crisis that now confronts her. That is why I have done it.

I am not opposed to the President's policies. I was born in a country where Democrats were indigenous to the soil. I took my politics west with me 42 years ago, to a State which was Republican when I first went there and has been ever since. I have been a Democrat all the time, and I am a Democrat now; but I have some convictions about these matters and other public questions. When I have supported all these measures I have done it because I thought they were right and not because I got orders from anywhere.

I have differed from the President on a number of occasions, and I have not hesitated to do so. I differed from the President when the Panama tolls question was under consideration; I differed very radically from him and did all in the world I could to keep the measure for the repeal of the Panama free-tolls act of 1912, advocated by him, off the statute books not only because it was contrary to our platform of 1912 but because I did not consider it right. I have differed with our distinguished Executive on a number of nominations which he has sent here; but nearly all of the policies he advocates are Democratic, and nearly all the policies that he has proposed I have stood for. I think you will find that in very few instances have I separated from Democratic colleagues; and when I have done so it has been because I felt I was right. I will say that frequently I have followed my colleagues and followed the President on matters of policy when I thought they were all wrong; but I did it just the same. However, whenever it comes to a question where a principle is involved and my conscience is enlisted, I follow no man; I follow my conscience. I am doing that to-day, my colleagues, when I am undertaking to call the attention of the country to the dangers that confront America.

In God's name, are we going to get over to France? Within 10 months after the war broke out Canada had her gallant sons in the trenches assisting in some of the most desperate battles of the war. With her sparse settlements, with her lack of wealth as compared to that of the United States, she got her brave boys—and they are practically Americans, my friends—over there; but America can not get there. Where is the trouble? Mr. President, if we do not get there, and get there quickly, it may be too late to go, and, as my good friend the Senator from Iowa [Mr. KENYON] said here the other day, it would be better for a man to lose his life and to see his family die than to see the Teuton invade America.

You Senators know that there are soldiers along the Atlantic seaboard who ought to have gone to France six weeks or two months ago. They do not go. Why is it? At Mineola there were a lot of Oregon and other brave boys who went from a southern encampment to that bleak and barren place, and where some of them were kept for over a month in extremely cold weather, not sufficiently clad, and without the comforts that camp life ought to have furnished them, waiting to get over. There must be something wrong somewhere.

If America is going to play any part in this war, she will have to get at it pretty soon. France is expecting us and the other allies are expecting us, and it seems to me, Mr. President, that the only way to speed up our preparations, the only way to get "over there," is to arouse America to the necessity of the time and the danger of the crisis. When once aroused I have no fear but that America will rise in her might and furnish an example of sacrifice, of courage, and of patriotism that will make the brightest pages of our history pale into insignificance as compared with the fighting of our boys on foreign soil.

Mr. President and Senators, I apologize for having taken up so much of your time. You can realize that my reputation is all I have, and the love that my family and my friends have for me at home. With that reputation destroyed and that love gone, life would have no attraction for me; with my reputation assailed, with my country in danger, I know that you will excuse me for having trespassed so long on your time and patience; and believe me when I tell you that there is no man here to-day and there is no man in America who would go to the relief of President Wilson more quickly than I in our country's crisis, although I feel I have been so grossly maligned by him. I thank the Senate.

Mr. KIRBY. Mr. President, no man who is a Member of this body will accuse me of trying to curry favor with anybody in or out of office; but I have listened to the speech of my distinguished colleague, the chairman of the Military Affairs Committee of the Senate [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN], and I do not believe it ought to go unchallenged or unanswered. I do not question

his patriotism, his integrity, or his ability, but I believe the spectacle we have witnessed here to-day is a condemnation of the soundness of his judgment.

What is the condition as we find it? We find the distinguished chairman of the Military Affairs Committee yonder in New York saying that the Military Establishment of the Nation has fallen down; that it is inefficient and incompetent. Has the distinguished chairman of the Military Affairs Committee taken the judgment of that committee upon that question, and have they declared that to be their view as the result of the investigation? That has not been done. Has the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, who certainly is responsible as chairman to this great body, and who ought to be and is supposed to be in touch with the administration, with the war-waging power—has he reported the condition as he now sees it, that the Military Establishment is inefficient and broken down, to the Commander in Chief of the Army? Did he do so before making the disclosure in New York? It has not been done. Instead, the chairman of the Military Affairs Committee has gone to New York, and, acting on his own judgment, has made a statement, as a result, he says, of his opinion made up from the investigation that has been going on, and has challenged the Military Establishment, and charged that it has broken down, that it is inefficient, and that it can not cope with conditions. I challenge the statement of it all.

The investigation that has been developed before our committee does not warrant much of the stuff that has been said here to-day; and it does not warrant at all, anywhere, the statement that the Military Establishment has broken down or has been inefficient, when you come to dealing with the great matters that have to be dealt with, and have been dealt with successfully, as I allege here and now.

Now, let us get down to some of the specific charges that have been made.

The Senator says we have had reports from the commanders of the different divisions at the different camps. That is true. He has said that these reports have shown that as late as December 3 there were shortages in woolen overcoats, in woolen blouses, and in woolen breeches; that the men were not all properly clothed throughout the cantonments and on the fields yonder in France. That is true as to the 3d day of December. All had not been supplied in the cantonments then; but all have since been supplied, and all would have been supplied then but for some negligence, probably, or inefficiency on the part of some particular man.

Let us see what was done. This supplies committee has been criticized here. Here is a man who was called in from civil life. Why? Because the Military Establishment had broken down? No; but because it wanted expert advice and assistance, it called in a man or men who could do these things. The committee was created, the committee came together, the committee acted, and what was the result? They have increased the supply of manufactured products where it was possible; and not only that, but they have clothed the Army, both in the cantonments and in the field in France. That has been done in eight months. Does that show inefficiency?

The Senator says one Quartermaster General might not have been able to do it. Perhaps he was not able to do it, but this agency was called in to assist the department. It was effective, and with this agency performed the service, and the statement can not be successfully contradicted.

They talk about the soldiers down at Houston not having as much tent space as ought to be provided for each particular man. I am a hunter, Mr. President. I go out hunting sometimes down in Arkansas, and as late as the middle of December, 8 or 10 of us sometimes sleep in an 8-by-10 tent, and we have never found any injurious effects from it; and usually down in that country around Houston and Waco, and even down in my country, as late as the middle of December a man could ordinarily sleep outside without any tent, and with only an Army blanket, and be entirely comfortable. The weather conditions have been unusual. They have made it necessary that we should supply more of this clothing, and it probably ought to have been supplied a little earlier, but it could not be done. It was humanly impossible under the conditions existing with the manufactories and the supply of raw material. Now, if a thing can not be done, would you say on that account that the Military Establishment had fallen down? No. That sort of an impression ought not to go out to this country when the facts do not warrant it.

They say, "Why does not the committee come in with a report?" The committee, in my opinion, ought to have made a report. The committee ought to have said: "Here is our deliberate judgment. A majority of us think that so-and-so and so-and-so is the condition, and that this investigation reveals and establishes that fact." But the committee has not done that,

and I challenge the right of the chairman to say what the evidence shows or does not show, and to make the broad assertion that he has made up yonder, and I say the facts do not warrant it.

There is another proposition: The Senator says that in 1914 it was apparent that war was going to come on, and that the Ordnance Department was absolutely quiescent, and that no move was made to manufacture heavy ordnance. He cites that as an instance of why the Military Establishment is inefficient. In 1914 the United States had not gone into the war, and since 1914 we fought out a presidential campaign on the proposition that we should not go into the war. Then why, in 1914, should the military organization have insisted that we ought to manufacture heavy ordnance? Why should they be regarded as inefficient when, later than that time, we fought out a presidential campaign on that issue alone? Is there any indication of inefficiency there? I think not.

Some member of the Military Affairs Committee, insisting with a witness that the manufacture of ordnance should have been begun in 1914, asked him if he did not know that our ambassador, Mr. Gerard, over in Germany, had said then that the German people were unfriendly, and that some day we were going to have trouble? Do you suppose that the Ordnance Department or the Secretary of War is going on what the ambassador to Germany might have reported here in a secret way in 1914? Would we have expected anything of that kind? No. No man would have expected it, no man would have justified it, and no man would have excused it then if money had been expended along that line.

Another thing that is said about the Ordnance Department is that we have no heavy guns. The Senator said we are not able now to put our men yonder in the trenches in France and supply them with heavy guns. Why? Because we did not in 1914 go to manufacturing them? No; he said we have not been able to manufacture guns. He did not say we did not have the guns. We have them. They are there. They are in the hands of our soldiers to-day, and can be used effectively when we put our men in the fighting front.

"Yes; but," the Senator said, "we had to buy them from France." That is true; we had to buy them from France, but that is an evidence of military efficiency. We bought them where we could get them, where we needed them, instead of trying to manufacture them, which would have taken a longer time. They had ample guns to supply our troops; we had ample money with which to purchase them, and time was of the essence of the condition. We bought the guns that we needed, because we could get them supplied there. We did not need to transport them from here across the ocean and take any chance on that. It might have been well, even had we had guns already manufactured, to have bought them instead yonder, where they already were in touch or could easily be put in the hands of our soldiers who are expected to use them. There is no evidence of inefficiency there.

It seems to me that that is conclusive evidence of high efficiency—to get the thing that you need when you need it, and it makes no difference where, so you can supply it. That was done. I do not see any inefficiency there.

The Senator says there is not a single trench mortar for training soldiers in our home camps. It may be true that they have not got as many trench mortars as they ought to have down there in the cantonments. They have not got as many of some of these machine guns as they ought to have for training; but they are prepared to deliver them in quantity, even the Browning gun, next month. It is not exactly accurate to say we have no machine guns, because we have bought the Shoshon gun, we have bought the Maxim-Vickers gun, we have bought the Colt gun, even the Lewis gun; we have bought them in all the quantity in which they could be produced, except the Lewis gun, and in the quantity in which it was determined they would be needed. That has already been done, and yet the intimation is made that nothing at all has been done.

If I am making a statement here to-day that is not warranted by the record as shown down there, let some man challenge it. I have attended the investigation. That has been developed, and that has been done.

I am not going to talk at any great length here; but as to the question of tentage, we had to increase our manufacturing capacity of tentage from 3,000,000 yards a year to supply a demand for 89,000,000 yards, and it has been done. Is there any inefficiency about that?

Now, as to the uniforms. Of course, Mr. President, my remarks on this occasion will be disjointed. The uniforms have been criticized. They say there ought to be more virgin wool in the uniform, that it would last longer, it would be warmer. The testimony I heard before the committee does not warrant

that criticism. The uniform to-day is not any lighter than the uniform we have always had. It is of exactly the same weight that it always has been in the Army of the United States—that is, the coat and breeches, the uniform—and it is made now of 65 per cent virgin wool and 35 per cent reworked wool, which some call shoddy. That is the condition to-day, whereas it used to be 75 per cent wool and 25 per cent cotton; and experts doubted and differed about which was the more valuable cloth, which was the warmer, and which lasted longer. Even this reworked stuff must come up to certain specifications and have a certain tensile strength. That prevents its being rotten, or prevents its being worthless.

I want to make this statement here and let anyone challenge it who will: I say that no man, no officer, and no soldier from anywhere in the United States or from the battle front in France said that his uniform was insufficient, said that it was defective in wearing qualities or in warmth, or that it had not proven entirely satisfactory. No man, officer or soldier, said so to the committee—no man at all—and I asked several. I said: "What is your judgment, and what are the facts as reported to you, about the goodness of this uniform?" No man has said anything like that it was unsatisfactory. Some experts did say it should be heavier in weight.

As to the overcoats, this reworked wool, and the supply committee: The intimation has been made that the supply committee were to blame about that, but that is not warranted. The specifications were agreed upon, and the supply committee produced the stuff that they said was desirable and must be had. It is a 50-50 overcoat, about 50 per cent reworked wool and 50 per cent virgin wool.

The reworked wool, or what they call shoddy, is new cloth that has never been used, wool cloth that is torn to pieces and is put in with this other amount of wool. That has not extended to the blankets, and not 35 per cent of the overcoats have gotten down to those constituent elements.

That is the condition along that line. I am not going to talk extensively about that.

The rifle manufacture has been criticized. Maybe it would have been better if we had had Springfield rifles in the hands of every soldier in the United States the very minute that he was drafted; but, if so, they could not have been used. No man is expected to use his rifle, except to become efficient in target shooting, until he goes across the sea. Every man on the other side has been supplied with clothing, with ammunition, with rifles, with machine guns, and everything else to best equip him for effective fighting. No man will dispute that. It can not be disputed.

There have not been, until recently, enough rifles for the men in these home encampments, because we have not been able to make them in sufficient quantities. We might have bought the Enfield rifles, but the Springfield rifle is the best rifle in the world, so far as our experts state and so far as experience has shown. We thought it would be better to give them the best rifle if we had time to do it, and, under the conditions existing, I say that the military department has done well. It has done this thing and the rifles are in the hands of the soldiers now. There has never come to this committee, in the three or four weeks that I have been there, any complaint whatever of any soldier going hungry, or being supplied with any but the best food that could be bought in the country, or as good food as might be had by any man anywhere. That is another condition.

Now, as to the clothing: They did not get this clothing, as I say, in some places because the cold weather was not anticipated and the time was short. The cloth had been manufactured, the contracts had been made for the delivery, it had already gone from the manufactory, but not in time, I am informed by the Quartermaster Department, to reach them all. Sometimes the clothing had been manufactured, the uniforms were made, and some of them were too small. Our men have grown larger than they were in the old Army; back yonder in 1860. A greater percentage of them require large uniforms. Some of them had to be made over again, rather other uniforms had to be made, and time was lost in that way.

Then there is another thing that was inefficient in some ways, but we thought that might be corrected. Some one department of the Quartermaster Corps down here got more of the supplies than it ought to have had, and they were not taken from that department and sent to some other department that was in greater need of them. That was a condition that ought to have been remedied perhaps, but it was remedied as soon as the condition developed sufficiently to be known.

Now, as to the hospital proposition: It is true that soldiers have died in camp. It is true that soldiers must die upon the field of battle. It is unfortunate that if a man must die he can not die with arms in his hand, on the field of battle, fight-

ing for his country's cause; but it never has been that all could do so. It is unfortunate that a few of these soldiers have died; but the hospital facilities have been supplied. There might have been neglect in some particular instance. It may be so; but would that be apt to get back to the Secretary of War? It was shown in this instance that the medical department were disposed to remedy all the conditions that it possibly could. They seemed to be kindly disposed; they seemed to know their business; and they agreed to do everything that could be done to alleviate the condition.

Is it possible that people think that measles will develop because a man wears a cotton shirt or a woolen shirt; or is it possible that it is still believed that a man might have spinal meningitis because he did not have on a particular kind of shoe, or that a man might have pneumonia for that reason? No. Those are germ diseases, and when the man gets the germs he might be weakened, of course, in his condition to a point where he could not resist the ravages of the disease; but generally it is produced by the germ and is not affected by these other circumstances.

The hospital condition, so far as I understand, is not very unsatisfactory. Of course many people have been sick. There have been many deaths from pneumonia and measles. There always have been in armies, and there always will be. Pneumonia and measles are necessarily fatal diseases to a large extent. We have not been able to overcome that condition yet, and we never will be, I fear.

I am not an apologist for anybody in this administration. The President has always been able to take care of himself, and the Secretary of War, so far as I know, has been able to look after his own interests. I simply thought I ought to say this much to the people who might be disturbed by the speech of the Senator and the disclosures that have been made, only partially, of certain instances that do not affect the great general result that has been accomplished.

What difference does it make out yonder in the cabin or the home in Oregon if Mr. and Mrs. John Smith know that Sam did not have his overcoat within a week of the time he ought to have had it, or that he ought to have had it two weeks earlier? What difference would it make about supplying the overcoat? None. I might, however, reduce those people to a condition where they distrusted the Government and the administration, and doubted its power to accomplish the end that we have gone into the war to accomplish.

There may be other members of the Military Affairs Committee who are going to speak here to-day. I want to assume entire responsibility, however, for what I have said; and I say to you, as a man who has heard this investigation, as a man who is accustomed to weighing testimony, as a man who is accustomed to rendering judgment, that my opinion of the condition as it exists to-day is that the military department has not fallen down. The military department, where it has been deficient, has remedied the condition by volunteer boards of the best talent in the United States, and that is all that could be done if you had the law that is proposed by the Senator from Oregon.

Now, that has been done. I am not saying anything about the law. I am referring to the condition. This voluntary advisory agency was added to the military department because it recognized the need for it, and it accomplished the result through this means. That has been done. That is already done.

I am not going to talk to you further. It may be that I ought not to have talked at all, but my judgment led me to believe that somebody ought to say this much for the benefit of the country under these conditions, and I have said it.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I ask that the bill introduced by the Senator from Oregon [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN] be now referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the bill will be read the second time by its title and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

The bill (S. 3583) to establish a war cabinet and to define the jurisdiction and authority thereof was read the second time by its title and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

HEADS OF EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS.

Mr. HARDWICK. Mr. President, I wish to make a short statement to the Senate.

On the 4th day of January, 1918, I submitted this resolution in the Senate:

Senate resolution 175.

Resolved, That the President of the United States be requested to inform the Senate, if not incompatible with the public interest, by what warrant or authority of law the several heads of the executive departments hold their offices.

Mr. President, for many years and under many administrations every President of the United States who was reelected has at the beginning of his second term sent to the Senate his Cabinet nominations, and the Senate has always, except in one or two rare instances, promptly confirmed those nominations without question. The Constitution requires that these officers shall be confirmed by the Senate; and it has seemed to me that in times like these, when we were granting all sorts of unusual, large, extraordinary, and in some cases autocratic powers to the present Chief Executive, it was especially incumbent upon the Executive to comply with the spirit of the Constitution, even if the statutes in relation to these Cabinet officers in most cases did authorize the incumbents of these particular offices to hold them until their successors were appointed and confirmed, as is the case with respect to most of them.

But it happens, Mr. President, that by express provisions of statute law the Postmaster General of the United States does not hold his office over from one term to another, the statute providing in express terms that the Postmaster General shall hold office only during the term of the President by whom he was appointed, and for one month longer, and no longer. So that, as a matter of fact, the country ever since April 4, 1917, has been legally without a Postmaster General, and the position of head of one of the greatest executive departments of the Government has been unfilled, so far as law goes.

The object of the resolution I offered was to direct attention to that situation. I understand, however, that that is about to be met by a renomination of the Postmaster General, and that when I yield the floor the Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN] is about to move an executive session to consider that nomination. I merely want to congratulate the country on the fact that the President has at last found out what the law is, and has at last complied with it; and I would still further congratulate both the country and the President if the President would comply with the spirit of the Constitution about all these things, as well as the letter of the law, and would follow the custom of his predecessors as well as obey the Constitution of the United States by sending to the Senate nominations for the other Cabinet places, as well as that of Postmaster General.

THE GARABED INVENTION.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the action of the House of Representatives disagreeing to the amendments of the Senate to the joint resolution, H. J. Res. 174, and requesting a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon.

Mr. JAMES. I move that the Senate insist upon its amendments and agree to the conference asked for by the House, the conferees on the part of the Senate to be appointed by the Chair.

The motion was agreed to; and the President pro tempore appointed Mr. JAMES, Mr. GORE, and Mr. BRANDEGEE conferees on the part of the Senate.

HIDE AND LEATHER SITUATION (H. DOC. NO. 857).

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a communication from the Federal Trade Commission, transmitting a preliminary report on the hide and leather situation, stating certain facts ascertained in an investigation of hide, leather, and leather products undertaken by the commission under resolution of December 31, 1917, and in connection with the investigation of animal food products and by-products, which the commission is making pursuant to the President's direction, which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce and ordered to be printed.

REPORT OF THE EIGHT-HOUR COMMISSION (H. DOC. NO. 690).

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a communication from the Eight Hour Commission, transmitting a report of the commission appointed in accordance with the act of September 3 and 5, 1916, to observe the operation and effects of the institution of the eight-hour standard workday for railroad employees, which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by J. C. South, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had passed a bill (H. R. 8696) making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes, and for other purposes, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House had agreed to a concurrent resolution authorizing the Clerk, in the enrollment of the bill (H. R. 195) providing for the sale of the coal and asphalt deposits in the segregated mineral land in the Choctaw

and Chickasaw Nations, Oklahoma, to strike out the word "applied," on page 5, line 13, and to insert in lieu thereof the word "apply," in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN presented resolutions adopted by the Board of City Commissioners of Jersey City, N. J., favoring an increase in the salaries of all civilian employees, which were referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. JONES of Washington presented resolutions adopted by the Metal Trades Council of Seattle, Wash., favoring the erection by the United States Shipping Board of a sufficient number of houses for workers in the shipyards in that city, which were referred to the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. PHELAN presented a petition of the Chamber of Commerce of San Luis Obispo, Cal., favoring the construction of the proposed military highway from Blaine, Wash., to San Diego, Cal., which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also presented a petition of the Napa Farm Bureau, of Napa, Cal., remonstrating against the importation of Chinese coolie labor, which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

Mr. McLEAN presented a petition of the Chamber of Commerce of Stamford, Conn., praying for the enactment of legislation providing for the formation of a war council, which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of the Connecticut Pedic Society, praying for the enactment of legislation providing for the establishment of a chiropody unit in the United States Army, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS.

Mr. TILLMAN, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, to which were referred the following bills, reported them severally without amendment and submitted reports thereon:

A bill (S. 3404) to authorize the President to drop from the rolls any naval or Marine Corps officer absent without leave for three months or who has been convicted of any offense by the civil authorities, and prohibiting such officer's reappointment (Rept. No. 209);

A bill (S. 302) authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to make donation of condemned naval guns and cannon balls to the John Wannebo Camp, No. 9, United Spanish War Veterans, Everett, Wash., to be placed in public parks (Rept. No. 210);

A bill (S. 3006) to authorize and empower officers and enlisted men of the Navy and Marine Corps to serve under the Government of the Dominican Republic, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 211);

A bill (S. 3126) to provide temporary promotion for retired officers of the Navy and Marine Corps performing active duty during the period of the present war (Rept. No. 212);

A bill (S. 3129) to provide for the disposition of the effects of deceased persons in the naval service (Rept. No. 213);

A bill (S. 3130) to amend section 1570 of the Revised Statutes of the United States (Rept. No. 214);

A bill (S. 3131) for the relief of Col. Littleton W. T. Waller, United States Marine Corps (Rept. No. 215);

A bill (S. 3400) to regulate the pay of retired chief warrant officers on active duty (Rept. No. 216);

A bill (S. 3406) to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to determine where and when there are no public quarters available for officers of the Navy and Marine Corps (Rept. No. 217);

A bill (S. 3427) for the relief of certain ex-paymasters' clerks (Rept. No. 218);

A bill (S. 3445) to authorize the payment of gun pointers and gun captains while temporarily absent from their regular stations, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 219); and

A bill (S. 3446) to amend an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes," approved March 4, 1917 (Rept. No. 220).

He also, from the same committee, to which was referred the bill (S. 3402) to fix the age limits for candidates for admission to the United States Naval Academy, reported it with an amendment and submitted a report (No. 221) thereon.

He also, from the same committee, to which were referred the following bills, reported them each with amendments and submitted reports thereon:

A bill (S. 179) to correct the naval record of Fred C. Konrad (Rept. No. 222); and

A bill (S. 3401) to authorize the President to temporarily reduce the course of instruction at the United States Naval Academy (Rept. No. 223).

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. CALDER:

A bill (S. 3629) for the relief of Charles Haythorpe; to the Committee on Patents.

By Mr. WATSON:

A bill (S. 3630) granting an increase of pension to James Showers (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

LANDS IN OKLAHOMA.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 34) of the House of Representatives, which was read:

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That in the enrollment of the bill (H. R. 195) entitled "An act providing for the sale of the coal and asphalt deposits in the segregated mineral land in the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations, Okla.," the Clerk be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to strike out the word "applied," on page 5, line 13, and to insert in lieu thereof the word "apply."

Mr. OWEN. I move that the Senate concur in the resolution of the House.

The motion was agreed to.

HOUSE BILL REFERRED.

H. R. 8696. An act making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes, and for other purposes, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. MARTIN. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After 20 minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened.

ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY.

Mr. MARTIN. I move that the Senate adjourn until Monday at 12 o'clock.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 3 o'clock and 40 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, January 28, 1918, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate January 24, 1918.

POSTMASTER GENERAL.

Albert Sidney Burleson, of Texas, to be Postmaster General.

PROMOTIONS IN THE ARMY.

COAST ARTILLERY CORPS.

Capt. Richard H. Williams, Coast Artillery Corps, to be major from December 29, 1917, vice Maj. Alden Trotter, detailed in Ammunition Train.

Capt. Alfred M. Mason, Coast Artillery Corps, to be major from December 29, 1917, vice Capt. Michael H. Barry, detailed in Ammunition Train.

Capt. Kenneth C. Masteller, Coast Artillery Corps (General Staff), to be major from December 29, 1917, vice Maj. Theodore H. Koch, detailed in Ammunition Train.

Capt. Joseph Matson, Coast Artillery Corps, to be major from December 29, 1917, vice Maj. Kenneth C. Masteller, retained in the General Staff.

CORPS OF ENGINEERS.

To be first lieutenant with rank from October 4, 1917, to fill an original vacancy.

Second Lieut. Simon Medine, Corps of Engineers.

To be first lieutenants with rank from October 16, 1917, to fill original vacancies.

Second Lieut. Samuel L. Kuhn, Corps of Engineers.

Second Lieut. Louis Graham, Corps of Engineers.

Second Lieut. Roy M. McCutchen, Corps of Engineers.

Second Lieut. William Lohmeyer, jr., Corps of Engineers.

Second Lieut. William A. Clark, Corps of Engineers.

Second Lieut. Aubrey H. Bond, Corps of Engineers.

Second Lieut. Hubert W. Collins, Corps of Engineers.

Second Lieut. Harold J. McDonald, Corps of Engineers.

Second Lieut. Maurice P. Van Buren, Corps of Engineers.

Second Lieut. Frederick S. H. Smith, Corps of Engineers.

Second Lieut. Frank B. Hastie, Corps of Engineers.

Second Lieut. Harold Van V. Fay, Corps of Engineers.

Second Lieut. Oscar R. Peterson, Corps of Engineers.

Second Lieut. Thomas K. Meloy, Corps of Engineers.
 Second Lieut. Robert A. Love, Corps of Engineers.
 Second Lieut. Bennet H. Bowley, jr., Corps of Engineers.
 Second Lieut. Robert D. Ingalls, Corps of Engineers.
 Second Lieut. William L. G. Mackenzie, Corps of Engineers.
 Second Lieut. Walter L. Medding, Corps of Engineers.
 Second Lieut. Warren A. Lyon, Corps of Engineers.
 Second Lieut. Roger W. Parkhurst, Corps of Engineers.
 Second Lieut. Albert C. Lieber, jr., Corps of Engineers.
 Second Lieut. Robert K. Munroe, Corps of Engineers.
 Second Lieut. James A. Bjerregaard, Corps of Engineers.
 Second Lieut. Eugene F. Gaebler, Corps of Engineers.
 Second Lieut. William C. Atwater, Corps of Engineers.
 Second Lieut. Henry E. Strout, jr., Corps of Engineers.
 Second Lieut. John A. Strang, Corps of Engineers.
 Second Lieut. George E. Robinson, Corps of Engineers.
 Second Lieut. Frank C. Rogers, Corps of Engineers.
 Second Lieut. Philip N. Cristal, Corps of Engineers.
 Second Lieut. Clifford H. Springer, Corps of Engineers.
 Second Lieut. Edward P. Morton, Corps of Engineers.
 Second Lieut. Langley S. Homer, Corps of Engineers.
 Second Lieut. George J. Nold, Corps of Engineers.

TEMPORARY PROMOTIONS IN THE ARMY.

INFANTRY ARM.

To be majors with rank from August 5, 1917.

Capt. Paul W. Beck, Infantry, vice Maj. Edwin Bell, appointed colonel in the National Army.
 Capt. Robert I. Rees, Infantry (General Staff), vice Maj. John S. Battle, appointed colonel in the National Army.
 Capt. John J. Miller, Infantry, vice Maj. Robert I. Rees, retained in the General Staff.
 Capt. Jesse M. Cullison, Infantry, vice Maj. William E. Welch, appointed colonel in the National Army.
 Capt. William H. Noble, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. Frank L. Wells, appointed colonel in the National Army.
 Capt. Wilbur A. McDaniel, Infantry, vice Maj. William H. Noble, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.
 Capt. Evert R. Wilson, Infantry, vice Maj. James E. Harbeson, appointed colonel in the National Army.
 Capt. Philip Powers, Infantry, vice Maj. Pegram Whitworth, appointed colonel in the National Army.
 Capt. Clenard McLaughlin, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Thomas W. Darrah, appointed colonel in the National Army.
 Capt. Edward B. Mitchell, Infantry, vice Maj. Lorrain T. Richardson, appointed colonel in the National Army.
 Capt. James H. Como, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. Charles R. Howland, appointed colonel in the National Army.
 Capt. Harold D. Coburn, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. James H. Como, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.
 Capt. Allen J. Greer, Infantry (General Staff), vice Maj. Louis M. Nuttman, appointed colonel in the National Army.
 Capt. Robert Whitfield, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Allen J. Greer, retained in the General Staff.
 Capt. Abraham U. Loeb, Infantry, vice Maj. Glenn Davis, appointed colonel in the National Army.
 Capt. Constant Cordier, Infantry (General Staff), vice Maj. Franklin S. Hutton, appointed colonel in the National Army.
 Capt. James M. Loud, Infantry, vice Maj. Constant Cordier, retained in the General Staff.
 Capt. J. De Camp Hall, Infantry, vice Maj. Fine W. Smith, appointed colonel in the National Army.
 Capt. Davis C. Anderson, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Walter S. McBroom, appointed colonel in the National Army.
 Capt. Robert D. Carter, Infantry, vice Maj. Robert H. Allen, appointed colonel in the National Army.
 Capt. Douglas Potts, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Dwight W. Ryther, appointed colonel in the National Army.
 Capt. Vincent M. Elmore, Infantry, vice Maj. Frederick B. Shaw, appointed colonel in the National Army.
 Capt. Benjamin R. Wade, Infantry, vice Maj. William F. Creary, promoted lieutenant colonel.
 Capt. George E. Goodrich, Infantry, vice Maj. Herschel Tupes, promoted lieutenant colonel.
 Capt. Edwin S. Hartshorn, Infantry, vice Maj. Isaac Newell, promoted lieutenant colonel.
 Capt. Clark R. Elliott, Infantry, vice Maj. Lawrence B. Simonds, promoted lieutenant colonel.
 Capt. Ralph B. Lister, Infantry, vice Maj. Frederick W. Lewis, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Harry E. Comstock, Infantry, vice Maj. James N. Pickering, promoted lieutenant colonel.
 Capt. William R. Standiford, Infantry (General Staff), vice Maj. William A. Burnside, promoted lieutenant colonel.
 Capt. Frederick S. Young, Infantry (General Staff), vice Maj. William R. Standiford, retained in the General Staff.
 Capt. Thomas S. Moorman, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. Frederick S. Young, retained in the General Staff.
 Capt. Charles H. Morrow, Infantry, vice Maj. Thomas S. Moorman, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.
 Capt. Brady G. Ruttencutter, vice Maj. Russell C. Langdon, promoted lieutenant colonel.
 Capt. Jennings B. Wilson, Infantry, vice Maj. Harry H. Tebbets, promoted lieutenant colonel.
 Capt. William O. Smith, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. Frank C. Bolles, promoted lieutenant colonel.
 Capt. Clarence K. La Motte, Infantry, vice Maj. William O. Smith, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.
 Capt. George M. Holley, Infantry, vice Maj. James W. Clinton, promoted lieutenant colonel.
 Capt. Edgar S. Stayer, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. Alexander T. Ovenshine, promoted lieutenant colonel.
 Capt. Charles H. Errington, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. Edgar S. Stayer, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.
 Capt. George C. Shaw, Infantry, vice Maj. Charles H. Errington, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.
 Capt. Charles E. Reese, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Henry E. Eames, promoted lieutenant colonel.
 Capt. Robert S. Knox, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Carroll F. Armistead, promoted lieutenant colonel.
 Capt. William A. Castle, Infantry (General Staff), vice Maj. Paul Giddings, promoted lieutenant colonel.
 Capt. Harry D. Blasland, Infantry, vice Maj. William A. Castle, retained in the General Staff.
 Capt. Edward H. Andres, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. Alfred T. Smith, promoted lieutenant colonel.
 Capt. Thomas J. Rogers, Infantry, vice Maj. Edward H. Andres, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.
 Capt. Edwin J. Bracken, Infantry, vice Maj. Charles D. Roberts, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.
 Capt. George W. England, Infantry, vice Maj. Preston Brown, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.
 Capt. Clyde B. Parker, Infantry, vice Maj. Robert McCleave, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.
 Capt. Alvin C. Voris, Infantry (Signal Corps), vice Maj. John L. De Witt, appointed lieutenant in the National Army.
 Capt. Frank R. Curtis, Infantry (Signal Corps), vice Maj. Alvin C. Voris, retained in the Signal Corps.
 Capt. Fred L. Davidson, Infantry, vice Maj. Frank R. Curtis, retained in the Signal Corps.
 Capt. George E. Kumpe, Infantry, vice Maj. William H. Waldron, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.
 Capt. Milo C. Corey, Infantry, vice Maj. Thomas M. Anderson, jr., promoted lieutenant colonel.
 Capt. Arthur M. Ferguson, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. John B. Hunt, promoted lieutenant colonel.
 Capt. De Witt W. Chamberlin, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. Claude H. Miller, promoted lieutenant colonel.
 Capt. Walter H. Johnson, Infantry, vice Maj. De Witt W. Chamberlin, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.
 Capt. Robert G. Rutherford, jr., Infantry, vice Maj. John H. Hughes, promoted lieutenant colonel.
 Capt. Robert E. Grinstead, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. Rufus E. Longan, promoted lieutenant colonel.
 Capt. Albert S. Williams, Infantry, vice Maj. Robert E. Grinstead, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.
 Capt. William B. Graham, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. Edward E. Roche, promoted lieutenant colonel.
 Capt. Charles J. Nelson, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. William B. Graham, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.
 Capt. E. Alexis Jeunet, Infantry, vice Maj. Charles J. Nelson, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.
 Capt. Charles H. Danforth, Infantry, vice Maj. Henry M. Dichmann, promoted lieutenant colonel.
 Capt. Gideon H. Williams, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Charles S. Lincoln, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.
 Capt. Fred W. Bugbee, Infantry, vice Maj. Halstead Dorey, promoted lieutenant colonel.
 Capt. Leonard T. Baker, Infantry, vice Maj. Edgar T. Conley, promoted lieutenant colonel.
 Capt. Charles S. Frank, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. George J. Holden, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Franklin S. Leisenring, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. Charles S. Frank, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. Charles F. Andrews, Infantry, vice Maj. Franklin S. Leisenring, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. Allan L. Briggs, Infantry, vice Maj. Easton R. Gibson, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. James M. Petty, Infantry, vice Maj. Walter C. Sweeney, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. John B. Shuman, Infantry, vice Maj. John Robertson, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Charles G. Lawrence, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. James V. Heidt, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Frederic G. Kellond, Infantry, vice Maj. Charles G. Lawrence, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. William P. Kitts, Infantry, vice Maj. Patrick H. Mullay, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Walter Harvey, Infantry, vice Maj. Frank D. Wickham, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Frank B. Davis, Infantry, vice Maj. John J. Toffey, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Harry D. Mitchell, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Mark Wheeler, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Ode C. Nichols, Infantry, vice Maj. Ivers W. Leonard, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Kirwin T. Smith, Infantry, vice Maj. Pearl M. Shaffer, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. William W. Bessell, Infantry, vice Maj. Laurence A. Curtis, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Frank C. Burnett, Infantry, vice Maj. Raymond Sheldon, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Collin H. Ball, Infantry, vice Maj. James D. Taylor, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. A. Owen Seaman, Infantry (General Staff), vice Maj. Frank Halstead, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Clifford U. Leonori, Infantry, vice Maj. A. Owen Seaman, retained in the General Staff.

Capt. Benjamin H. Pope, Infantry, vice Maj. Archie J. Harris, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Julian L. Dodge, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. Alexander J. Macnab, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Herman Glade, Infantry, vice Maj. Julian L. Dodge, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. Frank S. Bowen, Infantry, vice Maj. Robert M. Brambila, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Robert H. Peck, Infantry, vice Maj. C. de Grasse Catlin, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Ward Dabney, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. Henry S. Wagner, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. William W. Taylor, jr., Infantry, vice Maj. Ward Dabney, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. Russell C. Hand, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Frederick G. Knabenshue, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. George A. Herbst, Infantry, vice Maj. James E. Bell, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Philip J. Lauber, Infantry, vice Maj. James M. Love, jr., appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Thomas M. Hunter, Infantry, vice Maj. Paul H. McCook, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Elverson E. Fuller, Infantry, vice Maj. George B. Pond, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. William S. Neely, Infantry, vice Maj. James B. Kemper, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Frank H. Adams, Infantry, vice Maj. John W. Barnes, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. George C. Lewis, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Frank W. Rowell, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. William H. Patterson, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Charles E. Morton, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Leonard J. Mygatt, Infantry, vice Maj. Garrison McCaskey, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Elliott M. Norton, Infantry, vice Maj. Woodson Hocker, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Roscoe H. Hearn, Infantry, vice Maj. Charles B. Clark, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Morris M. Keck, Infantry, vice Maj. James Hanson, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Auswell E. Deitsch, Infantry, vice Maj. William F. Merry, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Joseph C. Kay, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. George W. Stuart, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Walter C. Jones, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. Joseph C. Kay, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. La Vergne L. Gregg, Infantry, vice Maj. Walter C. Jones, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. Bertram P. Johnson, Infantry, vice Maj. Ephraim G. Peyton, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Bruno T. Scher, Infantry, vice Maj. William L. Reed, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Gustav A. Wieser, Infantry, vice Maj. Charles L. McKain, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Charles R. W. Morison, Infantry, vice Maj. George E. Stewart, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Walter L. Reed, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Alden C. Knowles, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Ira F. Fravel, Infantry, vice Maj. Henry A. Hanigan, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Ned M. Green, Infantry, vice Maj. John W. Wright, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. J. Alfred Moss, Infantry, vice Maj. Grosvenor L. Townsend, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Charles F. Leonard, Infantry, vice Maj. James K. Parsons, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Franklin P. Jackson, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. Reuben Smith, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. John S. Chambers, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. Franklin P. Jackson, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. James Regan, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. John S. Chambers, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. Gilbert M. Allen, Infantry, vice Maj. James Regan, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. John Randolph, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Howard C. Price, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Clyde B. Crusan, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. William E. Hunt, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Sherman A. White, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Clyde B. Crusan, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. William H. Clendenin, Infantry, vice Maj. Leon L. Roach, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. John M. Craig, Infantry, vice Maj. Horace P. Hobbs, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. William G. Ball, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. Louis J. Van Schaick, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Charles Abel, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. William G. Ball, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. Walter E. Gunster, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. Charles Abel, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. William R. Kendrick, Infantry, vice Maj. Walter E. Gunster, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. Horace F. Sykes, Infantry, vice Maj. George S. Tiffany, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Oliver P. Robinson, Infantry, vice Maj. Arthur Shipp, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. George K. Wilson, Infantry, vice Maj. Paul Hurst, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Gerrit Van S. Quackenbush, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Allen Smith, jr., appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Sydney H. Hopson, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. Frank B. Hawkins, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. William E. Gillmore, Infantry, vice Maj. Sydney H. Hopson, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. William E. Persons, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. Walt C. Johnson, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. James G. Taylor, Infantry, vice Maj. William E. Persons, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. H. Clay M. Supplee, Infantry, vice Maj. Josephus S. Cecil, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Alex M. Hall, Infantry, vice Maj. Albert R. Dillingham, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Elliot M. Caziarc, Infantry, vice Maj. Henry A. Ripley, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Carl C. Jones, Infantry, vice Maj. William A. Kent, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Alfred J. Booth, Infantry, vice Maj. Samuel W. Noyes, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Joseph A. Marmon, Infantry, vice Maj. James T. Watson, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Rinaldo R. Wood, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. William W. McCammon, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Leonard H. Cook, Infantry, vice Maj. Rinaldo R. Wood, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. Horatio I. Lawrence, Infantry, vice Maj. Albert B. Sloan, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. William B. Wallace, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. Lawrence P. Butler, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Shepard L. Pike, Infantry, vice Maj. William B. Wallace, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. Henry G. Stahl, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. William G. Doane, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Roy C. Kirtland, Infantry, vice Maj. James M. Kimbrough, jr., appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Alfred C. Arnold, Infantry, vice Maj. Ernest Van D. Murphy, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Vernon W. Boller, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. William A. Cavanaugh, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Wallace McNamara, Infantry, vice Maj. Vernon W. Boller, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. David A. Henkes, Infantry, vice Maj. Benjamin D. Tillman, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Guy A. Bucker, Infantry, vice Maj. Charles F. Bates, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Robert G. Peck, Infantry, vice Maj. William H. Jordan, jr., appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Robert J. Binford, Infantry, vice Maj. Adolphe H. Huguot, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Sheldon W. Anding, Infantry, vice Maj. John N. Straat, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. William G. Murchison, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. James Justice, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Elvin H. Wagner, Infantry, vice Maj. Eldred D. Warfield, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Thomas W. Brown, Infantry (General Staff), vice Maj. Joseph K. Partello, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Otis R. Cole, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Thomas W. Brown, retained in the General Staff.

Capt. Shelby C. Leasure, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Edgar A. Myer, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Charles F. Herr, Infantry, vice Maj. Joseph W. Beacham, jr., appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Fred H. Turner, Infantry, vice Maj. Robert H. Wescott, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Edwin O. Saunders, Infantry, vice Maj. John L. Bond, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Arthur L. Bump, Infantry, vice Maj. Charles W. Weeks, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Willis E. Mills, Infantry, vice Maj. Lucius C. Bennett, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Harry W. Gregg, Infantry, vice Maj. Paul C. Galleher, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Staley A. Campbell, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Howard G. Davis, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. John R. Brewer, Infantry, vice Maj. Lambert W. Jordan, jr., promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Leo A. Dewey, Infantry, vice Maj. Edgar A. Fry, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. John P. McAdams, Infantry, vice Maj. George F. Baltzell, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Thomas T. Duke, Infantry, vice Maj. Martin L. Crimmins, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Edward G. McCleave, Infantry, vice Maj. Alfred Aloe, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Hugh A. Parker, Infantry, vice Maj. George S. Simonds, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. James E. Ware, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. Samuel M. McIntyre, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Kenneth P. Williams, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. James E. Ware, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. William A. Alfante, Infantry, vice Maj. Kenneth P. Williams, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. Charles E. Swartz, Infantry (Signal Corps), vice Maj. Harvey W. Miller, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Benjamin D. Foulois, Infantry (Signal Corps), vice Maj. Charles E. Swartz, retained in the Signal Corps.

Capt. Goodwin Compton, Infantry, vice Maj. Benjamin D. Foulois, retained in the Signal Corps.

Capt. Launcelot M. Purcell, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. Daniel G. Berry, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Charles T. Smart, Infantry, vice Maj. Launcelot M. Purcell, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. Girard L. McEntee, Infantry (Signal Corps), vice Maj. Ralph E. Ingram, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. John Scott, Infantry (Signal Corps), vice Maj. Girard L. McEntee, retained in the Signal Corps.

Capt. George C. Marshall, jr., Infantry (General Staff), vice Maj. John Scott, retained in the Signal Corps.

Capt. John C. Waterman, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. George C. Marshall, retained in the General Staff.

Capt. Alfred A. Hickox, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Alvan C. Read, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. John E. Green, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Bryan Conrad, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Jason M. Walling, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. Harry E. Knight, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Robert L. Weeks, Infantry, vice Maj. Jason M. Walling, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. Charles A. Hunt, Infantry, vice Maj. Earle W. Tanner, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Harry S. Adams, Infantry, vice Maj. Milton A. Elliott, jr., appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Gilbert H. Stewart, Infantry (Ordnance Department), vice Maj. Ernest E. Haskell, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Frederick F. Black, Infantry, vice Maj. Gilbert H. Stewart, retained in the Ordnance Department.

Capt. David H. Bower, Infantry (Signal Corps), vice Maj. John B. Sanford, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Hiram M. Cooper, Infantry, vice Maj. David H. Bower, retained in the Signal Corps.

Capt. Benjamin F. Miller, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. G. Arthur Hadsell, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Charles M. Blackford, Infantry, vice Maj. Benjamin F. Miller, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. Walter O. Boswell, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. J. Millard Little, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Deshler Whiting, Infantry, vice Maj. Edward R. Stone, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Gulielmus V. Heidt, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Willis P. Coleman, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Emory S. Adams, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Hilden Olin, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Ralph W. Drury, Infantry, vice Maj. Ira C. Welborn, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. John C. Fairfax, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Charles W. Exton, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Fred C. Miller, Infantry, vice Maj. Edgar Ridenour, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Charles L. Mitchell, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Chauncey B. Humphrey, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Robert J. West, Infantry, vice Maj. Joseph F. Gohn, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Odiorne H. Sampson, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. James H. Bradford, jr., promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Albert Hardman, Infantry, vice Maj. Odiorne H. Sampson, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. William E. Holliday, Infantry, vice Maj. Clifton C. Kinney, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Jesse M. Holmes, Infantry, vice Maj. Frederick R. De Funiak, jr., appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Maynard A. Wells, Infantry, vice Maj. A. La Rue Christie, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Hans O. Olson, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Patrick A. Connolly, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Charles A. Thuis, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. John V. Schoeffel, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Claremont A. Donaldson, Infantry, vice Maj. Charles A. Thuls, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. Franklin T. Burt, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. Englebert G. Ovenshine, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Rutherford S. Hartz, Infantry, vice Maj. Franklin T. Burt, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. Charles S. Hamilton, Infantry, vice Maj. Moor N. Falls, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Oscar K. Tolley, Infantry, vice Maj. Edward Croft, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Joseph F. Ware, Infantry, vice Maj. Stanley H. Ford, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Harry L. Jordan, Infantry, vice Maj. Clement Trott, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Dean Halford, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. Duncan K. Major, jr., appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Ralph W. Kingman, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Dean Halford, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. Donald D. Hay, Infantry, vice Maj. Chase Doster, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Philip G. Wrightson, Infantry, vice Maj. George H. White, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. George W. Ewell, Infantry, vice Maj. Robert J. Maxey, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Claire R. Bennett, Infantry, vice Maj. George N. Bomford, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Bowers Davis, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. Austin F. Prescott, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. John McE. Pruyn, Infantry, vice Maj. Bowers Davis, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. Henry W. Fleet, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Cyrus A. Dolph, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Charles G. Sturtevant, Infantry, vice Maj. John E. Morris, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Francis H. Burr, Infantry, vice Maj. Richmond Smith, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. John C. Ashburn, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Arthur P. Watts, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Charles H. Mason, Infantry (General Staff), vice Maj. Benjamin P. Nicklin, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Nicholas W. Campanoli, Infantry, vice Maj. Charles H. Mason, retained in the General Staff.

Capt. John G. Macomb, Infantry, vice Maj. John W. French, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. L. Worthington Moseley, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. Cromwell Stacey, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Joseph O. Mauborgne, Infantry (Signal Corps), vice Maj. L. Worthington Moseley, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. Joseph M. Cummins, Infantry, vice Maj. Joseph O. Mauborgne, retained in the Signal Corps.

Capt. Thomas C. Musgrave, Infantry, vice Maj. Robert O. Van Horn, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Converse R. Lewis, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Frederick S. L. Price, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Robert M. Lyon, Infantry, vice Maj. Alexander M. Wetherill, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Benjamin E. Grey, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Eleutheros Cooke, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Elvid Hunt, Infantry, vice Maj. John R. Thomas, jr., appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Jacob W. S. Wuest, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Henry M. Bankhead, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Max B. Garber, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. James G. Hannah, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Corbit S. Hoffman, Infantry, vice Maj. Fred E. Smith, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. E. Llewellyn Bull, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Harry L. Cooper, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Truman W. Carrithers, Infantry, vice Maj. Robert H. Sillman, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. George F. Roselle, Infantry, vice Maj. Halsey E. Yates, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Charles F. Severson, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Wilson B. Burt, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Reuben C. Taylor, Infantry, vice Maj. Oliver S. Eskridge, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. C. Stockmar Bendel, Infantry, vice Maj. George D. Freeman, jr., promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Robert E. Boyers, Infantry, vice Maj. John L. Jordon, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Burt W. Phillips, Infantry, vice Maj. Samuel L. Price, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Ben F. Ristine, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Lochlin W. Caffey, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. William C. Russell, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Thomas L. Brewer, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Roland W. Boughton, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. George E. Ball, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Keith S. Gregory, Infantry, vice Maj. Roland W. Boughton, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. Homer N. Preston, Infantry, vice Maj. Francis J. McConnell, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Jesse Gaston, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Claude S. Fries, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. William F. Harrell, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Charles B. Stone, jr., appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Jesse D. Elliott, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Thaddeus B. Seigle, appointed lieutenant colonel in the National Army.

Capt. Edward H. Tarbutton, Infantry, vice Maj. William S. Faulkner, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Carroll B. Hodges, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Ernest H. Agnew, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Fitzhugh B. Alderdice, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Robert O. Ragsdale, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. James M. Churchill, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. Austin A. Parker, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Philip H. Bagby, Infantry, vice Maj. James M. Churchill, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. Luther R. James, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Charles M. Gordon, jr., promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Andrew D. Chaffin, Infantry, vice Maj. Fred Van S. Chamberlain, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Ernest B. Smalley, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Sylvester Bonaffon, 3d, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Frederick W. Boschen, Infantry, vice Maj. Joseph C. Brady, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Manfred Lanza, Infantry, vice Maj. John H. Page, jr., promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Louis Farrell, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Parker Hitt, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. James B. Nalle, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Paul W. Beck, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. John J. Burleigh, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. John J. Miller, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Manuel M. Garrett, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. Jesse M. Cullison, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Augustine A. Hofmann, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. Manuel M. Garrett, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. James Blyth, Infantry, vice Maj. Augustine A. Hofmann, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. Edwin Gunner, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. Wilbur A. McDaniel, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Resolve P. Palmer, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Edwin Gunner, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. Edward E. McCammon, Infantry, vice Maj. Evert R. Wilson, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Philip Remington, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Philip Powers, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Charles H. Rich, Infantry, vice Maj. Clenard McLaughlin, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Paul C. Potter, Infantry, vice Maj. Edward B. Mitchell, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Albert T. Rich, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Harold D. Coburn, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. David P. Wood, Infantry, vice Maj. Robert Whitfield, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Edgar Z. Steever, 3d, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Abraham U. Loeb, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Philip B. Peyton, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. James M. Loud, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Frederick B. Terrell, Infantry, vice Maj. J. DeCamp Hall, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Charles A. Dravo, Infantry, vice Maj. Davis C. Anderson, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. James G. McIlroy, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Robert D. Carter, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Richard J. Herman, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. Douglas Potts, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Edwin L. Hooper, Infantry, vice Maj. Richard J. Herman, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. Irving J. Phillipson, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Vincent M. Elmore, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Edmund B. Gregory, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. Benjamin R. Wade, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Gordon R. Catts, Infantry, vice Maj. Edmund B. Gregory, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. Ursa M. Diller, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. George E. Goodrich, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Edwin Butcher, Infantry, vice Maj. Roy C. Kirtland, detailed in the Signal Corps.

Capt. Russel V. Venable, Infantry, vice Maj. Edward E. McCammon, detailed in the Signal Corps.

Capt. Arthur J. Davis, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Harry W. Gregg, detailed in the Signal Corps.

Capt. Martin C. Wise, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Ira F. Fravel, detailed in the Signal Corps.

Capt. Walter S. Drysdale, Infantry, vice Maj. Leonard J. Mygatt, detailed in the Signal Corps.

Capt. Charles A. Meals, Infantry, vice Maj. Gerrit Van S. Quackenbush, detailed in the Signal Corps.

Capt. Matthew H. Thomlinson, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Arthur L. Bump, detailed in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. Joseph A. Atkins, Infantry, vice Maj. C. Stockmar Bendel, detailed in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. Augustus B. Van Wormer, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Keith S. Gregory, detailed in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. Thomas L. Crystal, Infantry (Signal Corps), vice Maj. Homer N. Preston, detailed in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. Arthur C. Budd, Infantry, vice Maj. Thomas L. Crystal, retained in the Signal Corps.

Capt. Ralph R. Glass, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. Edward H. Tarbutton, detailed in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. Erle M. Wilson, Infantry, vice Maj. Ralph R. Glass, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. Merrill E. Spalding, Infantry, vice Maj. Manfred Lanza, detailed in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. John D. Burnett, Infantry, vice Maj. Charles H. Rich, detailed in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. John S. Davis, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Paul C. Potter, detailed in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. Robert B. Hewitt, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. Ursa M. Diller, detailed in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. William F. D. Simpson, Infantry, vice Maj. Robert B. Hewitt, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. Richard R. Pickering, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Edwin S. Hartshorn, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Lowe A. McClure, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Clark R. Elliott, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. William R. Scott, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Philip G. Wrightson, retired.

Capt. William W. Harris, jr., Infantry (General Staff), vice Maj. Edgar Z. Steever, 3d, detailed in the Signal Corps.

Capt. Napoleon W. Riley, Infantry (General Staff), vice Maj. William W. Harris, jr., retained in the General Staff.

Capt. James B. Woolnough, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Napoleon W. Riley, retained in the General Staff.

Capt. Walter S. Fulton, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Ralph B. Lister, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Sherburne Whipple, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Andrew D. Chaffin, detailed in the General Staff.

Capt. Harry Hawley, Infantry, vice Maj. Merrill E. Spalding, detailed in the General Staff.

Capt. Thomas N. Gimperling, Infantry, vice Maj. Harry E. Comstock, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Hugh L. Walthall, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Charles H. Morrow, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. John B. Richardson, Infantry, vice Maj. Brady G. Ruttenutter, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Anton C. Cron, Infantry, vice Maj. Jennings B. Wilson, promoted lieutenant colonel.

Capt. George W. Edgerly, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. William W. Taylor, detailed in the General Staff.

Capt. Oscar W. Hoop, Infantry, vice Maj. Elvid Hunt, detailed in the General Staff.

Capt. John C. Moore, Infantry (Signal Corps), vice Maj. Elverton E. Fuller, detailed in the General Staff.

Capt. William F. Pearson, Infantry (Signal Corps), vice Maj. John C. Moore, retained in the Signal Corps.

Capt. Harry H. Bissell, Infantry, vice Maj. William F. Pearson, retained in the Signal Corps.

Capt. Charles B. Elliott, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Walter H. Johnson, detailed in the General Staff.

Capt. John B. Corbly, Infantry, vice Maj. Roscoe H. Hearn, detailed in the General Staff.

Capt. Fitzhugh L. Minnigerode, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Frederic G. Kellond, detailed in the General Staff.

Capt. Charles L. Sampson, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Leo A. Dewey, detailed in The Adjutant General's Department.

Capt. John M. True, Infantry, vice Maj. John B. Shuman, detailed in The Adjutant General's Department.

Capt. Bruce R. Campbell, Infantry, vice Maj. Clarence K. La Motte, promoted.

Capt. John C. French, Infantry, vice Maj. George M. Holley, promoted.

Capt. Benjamin B. McCroskey, Infantry, vice Maj. Charles E. Reese, promoted.

Capt. Cassius M. Dowell, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Robert S. Knox, promoted.

Capt. Albert B. Kaempfer, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. Philip J. Lauber, detailed in the Inspector General's Department.

Capt. Charles W. Mason, Infantry, vice Maj. Albert B. Kaempfer, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. Allan R. Williams, Infantry, vice Maj. George C. Shaw, detailed in the Inspector General's Department.

Capt. Aristides Moreno, Infantry, vice Maj. Walter L. Reed, detailed in the Inspector General's Department.

Capt. William L. Patterson, Infantry (Signal Corps), vice Maj. William P. Kitts, detailed in the Inspector General's Department.

Capt. Charles W. McClure, Infantry, vice Maj. William L. Patterson, retained in the Signal Corps.

Capt. Ambrose R. Emery, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. Robert G. Peck, detailed in the Inspector General's Department.

Capt. Edmund C. Waddill, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Ambrose R. Emery, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. Rolland W. Case, Infantry, vice Maj. Horace F. Sykes, resigned commission as temporary major.

Capt. Norman F. Ramsey, Infantry (Ordnance Department), vice Maj. Oscar K. Tolley, detailed in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. De Witt C. T. Grubbs, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. Norman F. Ramsey, retained in the Ordnance Department.

Capt. Thomas W. Hammond, Infantry (General Staff), vice Maj. De Witt C. T. Grubbs, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. Calvin P. Titus, Infantry, vice Maj. Thomas W. Hammond, retained in the General Staff.

Capt. William C. Miller, Infantry, vice Maj. Charles L. Mitchell, resigned commission as temporary major.

Capt. Arthur W. Lane, Infantry (General Staff), vice Maj. Albert S. Williams, detailed in The Adjutant General's Department.

Capt. Bernard Lentz, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Arthur W. Lane, retained in the General Staff.

Capt. Frederick C. Test, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Frank C. Burnett, detailed in The Adjutant General's Department.

Capt. Owen S. Albright, Infantry (Signal Corps), vice Maj. Fred W. Bugbee, resigned commission as temporary major.

Capt. Fred H. Baird, Infantry, vice Maj. Owen S. Albright, retained in the Signal Corps.

Capt. Clifford C. Early, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Oliver P. Robinson, detailed in the General Staff.

Capt. George F. Waugh, Infantry, vice Maj. Charles S. Hamilton, detailed in the Signal Corps.

To be major with rank from November 3, 1917.

Capt. Allan Rutherford, Infantry, vice Maj. George W. Edgerly, resigned commission as temporary major.

To be majors with rank from November 5, 1917.

Capt. William S. Weeks, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Fred C. Miller, detailed in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. Charles S. Caffery, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Arthur J. Davis, detailed in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. Louis A. Kunzig, Infantry, vice Maj. Charles A. Meals, detailed in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. John P. Bubb, Infantry, vice Maj. Harry D. Blasland, promoted.

To be majors with rank from November 7, 1917.

Capt. Joseph E. Barzynski, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. George F. Waugh, detailed in the Signal Corps.
 Capt. Ben W. Field, Infantry, vice Maj. Joseph E. Barzynski, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.

To be major with rank from November 12, 1917.

Capt. Bloxham Ward, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Anton C. Cron, resigned commission as temporary major.

To be majors with rank from November 13, 1917.

Capt. Paul H. Clark, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. Thomas C. Musgrave, detailed in the Signal Corps.
 Capt. Thomas H. Lowe, Infantry, vice Maj. Paul H. Clark, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.

To be major with rank from November 15, 1917.

Capt. James W. H. Reisinger, jr., Infantry, vice Maj. Benjamin B. McCroskey, resigned commission as temporary major.

To be majors with rank from November 16, 1917.

Capt. Rupert A. Dunford, Infantry, vice Maj. Thomas J. Rogers, promoted.
 Capt. Charles C. Bankhead, Infantry, vice Maj. Charles A. Dravo, detailed in the Signal Corps.

To be majors with rank from November 17, 1917.

Capt. John P. Adams, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. John M. True, resigned commission as temporary major.
 Capt. Ira Longanecker, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Charles L. Sampson, resigned commission as temporary major.

To be majors with rank from November 18, 1917.

Capt. William C. Whitener, Infantry, vice Maj. Thomas N. Gimperling, resigned commission as temporary major.
 Capt. Frederick J. Ostermann, Infantry (Signal Corps), vice Maj. John C. French, resigned commission as temporary major.
 Capt. William J. Connolly, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. Frederick C. Ostermann, retained in the Signal Corps.
 Capt. Everett D. Barlow, jr., Infantry, vice Maj. William J. Connolly, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.
 Capt. Lawrence E. Hohl, Infantry, vice Maj. Rutherford S. Hartz, detailed in the Signal Corps.
 Capt. James G. Boswell, Infantry, vice Maj. William W. Harris, jr., resigned commission as temporary major.

To be majors with rank from November 19, 1917.

Capt. Arthur D. Minick, Infantry (Ordnance Department), vice Maj. Harry Bissell, resigned commission as temporary major.
 Capt. Paul R. Manchester, Infantry, vice Maj. Arthur D. Minick, retained in the Ordnance Department.
 Capt. Byard Sneed, Infantry, vice Maj. Fitzhugh L. Minnigerode, resigned commission as temporary major.
 Capt. Oscar Westover, Infantry (Signal Corps), vice Maj. Bruce R. Campbell, resigned commission as temporary major.
 Capt. Martyn H. Shute, Infantry (Signal Corps), vice Maj. Oscar Westover, retained in the Signal Corps.
 Capt. Fred A. Cook, Infantry, vice Maj. Martyn H. Shute, retained in the Signal Corps.

To be majors with rank from November 20, 1917.

Capt. George G. Bartlett, Infantry, vice Maj. Sherburne Whipple, resigned commission as temporary major.

To be majors with rank from November 21, 1917.

Capt. Henry B. Clagett, Infantry (Signal Corps), vice Maj. James B. Woolnough, resigned commission as temporary major.
 Capt. Richard H. Jacob, Infantry, vice Maj. Henry B. Clagett, retained in the Signal Corps.

To be major with rank from November 22, 1917.

Capt. Ralph A. Jones, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Allan R. Williams, resigned commission as temporary major.

To be majors with rank from November 23, 1917.

Capt. Hugo D. Schultz, Infantry, vice Maj. William R. Scott, resigned commission as temporary major.
 Capt. Jacob E. Fickel, Infantry (Signal Corps), vice Maj. Charles W. Mason, resigned commission as temporary major.
 Capt. Jesse W. Boyd, Infantry (Quartermaster Corps), vice Maj. Jacob E. Fickel, retained in the Signal Corps.
 Capt. Ebenezer G. Beuret, Infantry, vice Maj. Jesse W. Boyd, retained in the Quartermaster Corps.
 Capt. Rush B. Lincoln, Infantry (Signal Corps), vice Maj. John B. Corby, resigned commission as temporary major.
 Capt. Walter F. L. Hartigan, Infantry, vice Maj. Rush B. Lincoln, retained in the Signal Corps.
 Capt. Bruce Magruder, Infantry, vice Maj. John B. Richardson, resigned commission as temporary major.

To be majors with rank from November 28, 1917.

Capt. George H. Huddleson, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. William E. Gillmore, detailed in the Signal Corps.
 Capt. George C. Keleher, Infantry, vice Maj. Ira Longanecker, detailed in the Signal Corps.

To be major with rank from November 30, 1917.

Capt. Harry H. Pritchett, Infantry, vice Maj. James W. H. Reisinger, detailed in the Quartermaster Corps.

To be majors with rank from December 1, 1917.

Capt. Edgar L. Field, Infantry, vice Maj. Charles B. Elliott, resigned commission as temporary major.
 Capt. Earl C. Buck, Infantry, vice Maj. Edmund C. Waddill, resigned commission as temporary major.
 Capt. Jere Baxter, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Arthur M. Ferguson, detailed in The Adjutant General's Department.
 Capt. A. Ellicott Brown, Infantry, vice Maj. Harry Hawley, resigned commission as temporary major.

To be majors with rank from December 4, 1917.

Capt. James M. Lockett, Infantry, vice Maj. Jacob W. S. Wuest, detailed in the Signal Corps.
 Capt. Eugene Robinson, Infantry, vice Maj. William W. Bes- sell, detailed in The Adjutant General's Department.

To be major with rank from December 10, 1917.

Capt. Jesse C. Drain, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Joseph F. Ware, detailed in the Signal Corps.

To be major with rank from December 14, 1917.

Capt. Alexander W. Chilton, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Alfred W. Bjornstad, promoted lieutenant colonel.

To be majors with rank from December 19, 1917.

Capt. William E. Morrison, Infantry, detached officers' list, vice Maj. Resolve P. Palmer, detailed in the Signal Corps.
 Capt. Donald J. MacLachlan, Infantry, vice Maj. James G. Boswell, detailed in the Signal Corps.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate January 24, 1918.

POSTMASTER GENERAL.

Albert Sidney Burleson to be Postmaster General.

REGISTER OF THE LAND OFFICE.

Frank T. Woods, to be register of the land office at Billings, Mont.

APPOINTMENTS IN THE NAVY.

Rear Admiral Robert S. Griffin to be engineer in chief and Chief of the Bureau of Steam Engineering.

Paymaster Christian J. Peoples to be a pay director with the rank of rear admiral.

The following-named medical inspectors to be medical directors for temporary service:

Charles E. Riggs,
 Ammen Farenholt, and
 Charles P. Kindleberger.

Surg. Joseph C. Thompson to be a medical inspector for temporary service.

The following-named surgeons to be medical inspectors for temporary service:

Karl Ohnesorg,
 William Seaman,
 Archibald M. Fauntleroy,
 Robert E. Hoyt,
 Joseph P. Traynor,
 John F. Murphy,
 Jesse W. Backus, and
 John L. Neilson.

Pay Inspector Joseph J. Cheatham to be a pay director for temporary service.

Paymaster George P. Dyer to be a pay inspector for temporary service.

The following-named paymasters to be pay inspectors for temporary service:

William A. Merritt,
 Frederick K. Perkins,
 Grey Skipwith,
 McGill R. Goldsborough, and
 Eugene C. Tobey.

The following-named officers to be ensigns for temporary service:

Jesse E. Walter,
 Harry Waterhouse,
 Oscar E. Harris,

Percy S. Hogarth,
Doile Greenwell,
Earl H. Kneel,
Thomas F. Cullen,
Thomas S. Beard,
Henry A. Beaman,
Arthur L. Karns,
George J. Wolf,
Frank W. Crilley,
Jesse M. Acuff, and
Lincoln B. Walker.

The following-named enlisted men to be ensigns for temporary service:

George Hurst,
William Smith,
Caleb A. Holbrook,
John M. Morrison,
George M. Donovan,
James F. Mullin,
Edward Van Pelt,
George T. Rolfes,
Ernest A. Broms,
Edward G. Evans,
John H. Rider,
Carlisle J. Christman,
William T. Murray,
Christian Bauer,
Charles A. Pilant,
John W. Cunningham,
Michael T. Minihan,
Charles Keenan,
James T. Brien,
Robert J. Denny,
Thomas A. Patterson,
Walter E. Holden, and
Howard Keane.

The following-named officers of the United States Naval Reserve Force to be ensigns for temporary service:

John Black, jr.,
Thomas H. Laine, and
Ludwig G. Hoefling.

The following-named pay inspectors to be pay directors for temporary service:

George G. Seibels and
Edmund W. Bonnaffon.

Pay Inspector Joseph Fyffe to be a pay director for temporary service.

The following-named paymasters to be pay inspectors for temporary service:

Franklin P. Sackett,
David M. Addison,
Victor S. Jackson,
John R. Sanford,
Herbert E. Stevens,
Charles R. O'Leary, and
Charles W. Eliason.

The following-named paymasters to be pay inspectors for temporary service:

Cuthbert J. Cleborne and
John D. Robnett.

Paymaster George W. Pigman, jr., to be a pay inspector for temporary service.

POSTMASTERS.

ALABAMA.

Albert M. Espey, Albertville.
James C. Burns, Bay Minette.
H. O. Sparks, Boaz.
Jefferson K. Quillin, Clayton.
Clifford T. Harris, Columbia.
William E. Crawford, Decatur.
D. F. Sugg, Ensley.
Mollie P. Henderson, Enterprise.
Charles S. McDowell, Eufaula.
Laura E. Richards, Foley.
C. E. Brooks, Fort Deposit.
Sylvanus W. Riddle, Gadsden.
William K. Kenan, Geneva.
Henry I. Goff, Hartford.
William G. Porter, Heflin.
Ed G. Caldwell, Jacksonville.
Hugh T. Caffey, Leeds.
W. P. Tartt, Livingston.
S. M. Roberts, Monroeville.
W. T. Morris, Ragland.
Stephen L. Dorroh, Reform.

Tommie P. Lewis, Seale.
John E. Delony, Tuscombina.
B. C. Gibson, Tuskegee.
James A. Anderson, University.

ALASKA.

Everett McPhee, Anchorage.
John C. Allen, Petersburg.
Mrs. R. E. Coughlin, Treadwell.

ARIZONA.

Lola B. Tomlinson, Bowie.
Mamie B. Mayer, Mayer.
Jesse J. Rascoe, jr., Morenci.
Paul A. Smith, Tombstone.
Ange T. Pancrazi, Yuma.

ARKANSAS.

William A. Bushmaier, Alma.
John L. McCain, Crossett.
James L. Cannon, De Queen.
James E. Leeper, Dermott.
Albert D. Agee, Gurdon, Ark.
W. O. Bartlett, Hamburg.
James F. Rieves, Marion.
W. B. Kyle, McCrory.
George R. Hays, Newport.
Flora A. Hall, Pocahontas.
Louis K. Buerkle, Stuttgart.
Lee R. See, Swifton.
John T. Cheairs, jr., Tillar.
H. L. Fuller, Waldron.
James M. Daniel, Wilmar.
A. B. Cone, Wilmot.

CALIFORNIA.

Thomas C. Stoddard, Alameda.
Nellie Pellet, Brawley.
Charles R. Thompson, Burbank.
Georgia A. Wiard, Chula Vista.
Anna M. Carson, Compton.
Oliver C. Williams, Dinuba.
Elizabeth M. Steel, Downey.
George P. Dobyms, El Monte.
William J. Simms, Gardena.
Warren A. Bradley, Gustine.
Milton M. Pilkenton, Hermosa Beach.
Mary F. Stevenson, Imperial.
W. K. McFarland, Jackson.
Sophie J. Rice, King City.
B. Q. R. Canon, La Mesa.
Charles Osborne, Lankershim.
W. D. McClellan, La Verne (late Lordsburg).
S. Willard Coffren, Llano.
Don C. Saunders, Lompoc.
Walter J. Desmond, Long Beach.
Orynthia Copeland, Los Altos.
Mabel Hanford, Lost Hills.
Thomas F. Fogarty, Marysville.
F. B. Nichols, McCloud.
Warren Rodgers, McKittrick.
Eugene J. Crane, Menlo Park.
Frank Zimmerman, Monrovia.
Francis F. Wrenn, Newcastle.
John W. Heard, Oilcenter.
Clark McLain, Pasadena.
F. S. Harrison, Patterson.
Frank P. Firey, Pomona.
Alexander Ludwig, Redding.
Floyd Godfrey, San Dimas.
Charles W. Fay, San Francisco.
J. M. Qualls, Sanger.
Byron Millard, San Jose.
Michael F. Cochrane, San Rafael.
J. B. Laufman, Santa Paula.
George Gribble, Scotia.
Jesse D. Brite, Tehachapi.
Jesse A. Ivy, Thermal.
S. Eliza Stitt, Vacaville.
Norman P. Cormack, Wasco.
Alfred Belieu, Watts.

COLORADO.

Clark Cooper, Canon City.
Frederick H. Meyers, Clifton.
Herbert D. Barnhart, Creede.
A. J. Horan, Crested Butte.
Mary E. Holmes, Fleming.

Hubert Reynolds, Greeley.
 Ralph E. Jordan, Grover.
 Ruth N. Frame, Haswell.
 William A. White, Holyoke.
 Thomas J. Bradshaw, Ignacio.
 Finley Dye, Julesburg.
 Michael F. O'Day, Lafayette.
 M. J. Brennan, Leadville.
 T. T. Donovan, Longmont.
 Charles L. Spillman, Norwood.
 Sherman S. Bellesfield, Pueblo.
 Judith Nichols, Ridgway.
 Joseph W. Beery, Saguache.
 Mary M. Minehouse, Wiley.

CONNECTICUT.

Thomas J. Sullivan, Baltic.
 Patrick C. Cavanaugh, Burnside.
 Jeremiah J. Sullivan, Colchester.
 William J. Thomas, Moodus.
 William I. Austin, Noroton Heights.
 Samuel E. Loudon, Riverside.
 Thomas J. Quish, South Manchester.
 Dennis C. Murphy, Taftville.
 James T. Murray, Thompsonville.
 Merritt E. Tooker, Uncasville.

DELAWARE.

William L. Duff, Newport.

IDAHO.

Samuel H. Laird, American Falls.
 George W. Harris, Burke.
 John E. Paul, Dubois.
 W. J. Coltman, Idaho Falls.
 Emil L. Mueller, Kamiah.
 Alexander McDermid, Kimberly.
 Charles H. Gelbach, Kooskia.
 Howard E. King, Nampa.
 Simpson M. Rich, Paris.
 John Jay Nickles, Plummer.
 Frederick H. Bradbury, Rathdrum.
 Mac Scofield, Vollmer.
 Frank S. Harding, Weiser.

INDIANA.

Michael E. Maloney, Aurora.
 Frank S. Coffin, Bloomingdale.
 Benjamin A. Batson, Bluffton.
 William R. Dunn, Dale.
 Orris Hooper, sr., Dillsboro.
 W. P. Van Arsdall, Fairmount.
 Charles Hatch, Fort Branch.
 Marion A. Thomas, Jasonville.
 Charles H. Ball, La Fayette.
 Earl Talbott, Linton.
 Kinsey B. Clark, Medaryville.
 Lloyd W. Dunlap, Mentone.
 Charles Wright, North Manchester.
 James N. Culp, North Vernon.
 William S. Tindall, Paoli.
 Nehemiah Littlefield, Rensselaer.
 John T. Cuskaden, St. Paul.
 E. R. Niccum, Swayzee.
 Walter H. Smith, Versailles.
 Ernest E. Forsythe, Washington.

IOWA.

I. M. Finnell, Algona.
 Ed. McConaughy, Allerton.
 Orson R. Hutchison, Arlington.
 George A. Pruitt, Blanchard.
 Jair S. Wildman, Blockton.
 John H. Schulte, Breda.
 A. W. Lee, Britt.
 Jacob Meyer, Calmar.
 Charles D. Huston, Cedar Rapids.
 William F. McCarty, Clarence.
 Thomas R. McKaig, Corwith.
 Frederick B. Sharon, Davenport.
 Harry A. Cooke, Eagle Grove.
 W. H. Dudley, Earlham.
 Frank Kussart, Eddyville.
 John J. Donahoe, Gilmore City.
 William H. Fickel, Glenwood.
 Charles H. Woodard, Gowrie.
 Sam Robinson, Gravity.
 William H. Frew, Hiteaman.

Peter Jungers, Hospers.
 F. C. Boeke, Hubbard.
 Andrew T. O'Brien, Independence.
 Charles L. Paul, Ireton.
 Wilhelm Hesselschwerdt, Kalona.
 Henry Africa, Kanawha.
 E. R. Ashley, Laporte City.
 D. P. O'Connor, Lawler.
 Milton Funk, Lewis.
 D. E. Horton, Lime Spring.
 Michael J. Harty, Lone Tree.
 Reuben M. Gable, Lost Nation.
 J. J. McDermott, Manilla.
 A. G. Johnson, Marshalltown.
 Anton Huebsch, McGregor.
 J. J. Herbst, Millford.
 Harry C. Fox, Monona.
 Tracy R. Osborne, New Sharon.
 Anna B. Berry, North McGregor.
 Alfred B. Callender, Ocheyedan.
 Charles B. Clark, Ogden.
 Frank W. Miller, Olin.
 Ben Jensen, Onawa.
 Charles W. McCarty, Ottumwa.
 Frank Kenney, Oxford Junction.
 Jasper W. Morris, Panorama.
 Edwin Wattonville, Pomeroy.
 John E. Dargan, Riceville.
 George W. Crandell, Rippey.
 P. A. McGray, Rolfe.
 John F. Goos, Sabula.
 Edwin L. Helmer, Sanborn.
 Warren A. Edington, Sheldon.
 J. G. Winter, Sioux Center.
 Frederick S. Anderson, Stanton.
 Margaret E. Nefzger, Terril.
 Leo L. Hamblin, Walker.
 John McGloin, Wall Lake.
 M. H. Kelly, Waterloo.
 Albert H. Procese, Waukeet.
 Daniel H. Bauman, Webster City.
 Katie A. Schwarz, West Burlington.
 William D. Schulte, West Point.
 Frank W. Buxton, Wheatland.
 Elmer E. Hopkins, Whiting.
 Mortimer D. Sullivan, Wilton Junction.
 Joseph H. Riseley, Winthrop.

HAWAII.

Millicent M. E. Cumming, Pala.
 J. S. Medeiros, Puunene.
 Frank Cox, Waimea.
 Elizabeth H. Travis, Waipahu.

MAINE.

Joseph E. Brooks, Biddeford.
 George W. McClain, Brownsville Junction.
 Arthur L. Newton, Buckfield.
 Edwin L. Field, Cape Cottage.
 William S. Mildon, Eastport.
 William R. Frost, Gardiner.
 Walter H. Newbegin, Kezar Falls.
 Menander Dennett, Lewiston.
 Ida E. Hatch, Limestone.
 Edward A. Prescott, Monmouth.
 Alner C. Gilbert, Monson.
 William G. Harmon, Old Orchard.
 Stanley L. Westcott, Patten.
 Oscar R. Wish, Portland.
 Lemuel Rich, Sebago Lake.

MARYLAND.

Franklin B. Beall, Cumberland.
 Benjamin Mitchell, Hancock.
 Mary W. Tise, Hyattsville.
 J. R. Duke, Leonardtown.
 F. B. McDermitt, Mount Savage.
 J. F. Peach, North East.
 Mary W. Stewart, Oxford.
 H. L. Brittingham, Princess Anne.
 Agnes C. Klinger, Riverdale.
 Joseph C. Gernand, Thurmont.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Edgar E. Sargent, Belchertown.
 Lawrence J. Watson, Beverly Farms.
 John J. Haverty, Canton.

Mary S. Tyler, Charlemon.
 Patrick H. Haley, Chelmsford.
 James Nagle, Concord Junction.
 Joseph E. Barnett, Easthampton.
 William J. Campbell, East Taunton.
 John H. Flavell, Hanover.
 Henry K. Bearse, Harwich.
 L. F. McNamara, Haverhill.
 William F. Walsh, Hinsdale.
 James J. O'Donnell, Holyoke.
 Tollston F. Phinney, Hyannis Port.
 Michael F. Cronin, Lawrence.
 John H. Kane, Lexington.
 Edmund S. Higgins, Lynn.
 Martin B. Crane, Merrimac.
 Neil R. Mahoney, North Billerica.
 Martin H. Ryan, Northboro.
 Dennis J. Dullea, Peabody.
 Osgood L. Small, Sagamore.
 Patrick Curran, Scituate.
 James G. Cassidy, Sheffield.
 William F. Kelley, South Acton.
 Thomas H. Hackett, Westboro.
 John D. Leonard, Whitinsville.
 Richard F. Burke, Williamsburg.
 Patrick J. Dempsey, Williamstown.

MICHIGAN.

Michael L. Gillen, Adrian.
 Arthur Hillman, Akron.
 C. A. Standiford, Athens.
 William S. Drew, Augusta.
 Joseph Fremont, Bad Axe.
 Carl L. Farwell, Barryton.
 O. K. Ray Maker, Bear Lake.
 Paul Harrison, Bloomingdale.
 William J. Lewis, Boyne City.
 John W. O'Leary, Brooklyn.
 Perry H. Peters, Davison.
 William J. Nagel, Detroit.
 Edwin S. Noble, Elk Rapids.
 George Arthur, Elkton.
 George B. McIntyre, Fairgrove.
 T. H. McGee, Farmington.
 Frank D. Baker, Flint.
 Frank D. Perkins, Flushing.
 Harry L. Shirley, Galesburg.
 J. W. Ewing, Grand Ledge.
 Daniel A. Holland, Hancock.
 David E. Storms, Harrisville.
 Thomas Gilligan, Hopkins.
 Cornelius Cronin, Kalkaska.
 George W. Parker, Le Roy.
 John J. Sleeman, Linden.
 E. T. Belding, Mancelona.
 Arthur A. Juttner, Menominee.
 Henry A. Bishop, Millington.
 M. C. Lefurgey, Mount Morris.
 Henry Kessell, Orion.
 Clare E. Rann, Perry.
 Eugene L. Rose, Petoskey.
 R. D. Watson, Rochester.
 Michael W. Gibbons, Roscommon.
 John Lutz, Saline.
 John Jay Cox, Scottville.
 Allen E. Stebbins, Sheridan.
 Louis J. Braun, South Range.
 Barton R. Osborn, Tekonsha.
 George F. Carrier, Three Oaks.
 William H. Wint, Williamstown.

MINNESOTA.

Jason Weatherhead, Ada.
 P. O. Fryklund, Badger.
 Axel Ringborg, Bagley.
 Axel F. Peterson, Barrett.
 W. W. Belden, Caledonia.
 C. F. Lieberg, Clarkfield.
 E. S. Scheibe, Cloquet.
 Altie Hill Lund, Dawson.
 William H. Franklin, Dodge Center.
 Louis A. Schwantz, Evansville.
 Joseph Huelskamp, Gaylord.
 George Lien, Granite Falls.
 C. H. Phinney, Herman.
 P. J. McCormick, Hopkins.

William F. Roche, Lakeville.
 F. W. Kramer, Lewiston.
 Harvey Hildebrand, Lyle.
 Milton L. Fredine, Maynard.
 Joseph H. Seal, Melrose.
 H. E. Hoard, Montevideo.
 M. F. Finnegan, Morris.
 Erick Erickson, Murdock.
 A. Waag, Roseau.
 W. L. McGonagle, Royalton.
 G. O. Bergan, Sacred Heart.
 Emil A. Kurr, Sauk Rapids.
 Alfred W. Johnson, Sebeka.
 A. J. Lovestrom, Stephen.
 Charles Spillane, Waseca.
 Michael Brixius, Watkins.
 C. H. Dickey, Wayzata.

MISSISSIPPI.

W. P. Cassidy, Brookhaven.
 R. L. Broadstreet, Coffeeville.
 Benjamin F. Lott, Collins.
 R. B. O'Reilly, Cruger.
 Bernard M. Martin, Dundee.
 J. M. King, Durant.
 Lorie R. Du Bard, Glendora.
 Ollie O. Conerly, Gloster.
 J. H. Robb, Greenville.
 James C. Jourdan, Iuka.
 Thomas P. Barr, Jackson.
 W. L. Walton, Lexington.
 Florence Brady, Lulu.
 Jeanie W. Fontaine, Lyon.
 Foster H. Round, Meadville.
 R. Parrish Taylor, Oakland.
 C. A. McCharen, Oxford.
 Mary L. Hancock, Potts Camp.
 Jonathan H. McCraw, Sardis.
 T. L. Wainwright, Stonewall.
 Sedley B. Thomas, Terry.
 Charles W. Allen, Vance.
 Barbour Y. Rhodes, West Point.

MISSOURI.

Emmett A. Cherry, Adrian.
 Joseph H. Turk, Ash Grove.
 James R. Bennett, Branson.
 Harvey Morrow, Buffalo.
 John C. Downing, Cameron.
 Willis Wiley, Crane.
 William D. Johnson, Crocker.
 Louie C. Mattox, Cuba.
 William H. Titus, Excelsior Springs.
 Nelson H. Cook, Forest City.
 Lee Jones, Hale.
 Hiram P. Geaslin, Hornersville.
 S. S. Ball, Kahoka.
 William A. Grant, Lincoln.
 Robert H. Williams, Louisiana.
 Jasper D. Cole, Malta Bend.
 J. S. Walker, Marcelline.
 Ross Alexander, Mercer.
 James M. Settle, New Franklin.
 James L. Smith, New London.
 Cora D. Perdue, Orrick.
 L. R. Dougherty, Pacific.
 Lant Campbell, Princeton.
 S. A. Norrid, Puxico.
 W. Douglas Meeks, Thayer.
 Abram Stephens, Troy.
 L. M. Hutcherson, Warrenton.
 J. P. Bauer, Washington.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Webb Little, Campton.
 James H. Willey, Milton.

NEW JERSEY.

Lemuel H. Mathews, Barnegat.
 Peter A. Doñovan, Bayonne.
 Henry N. Gillon, Berlin.
 Ralph A. Sheppard, Bivalve.
 Edward F. Higgins, Bloomfield.
 Waters B. Hurff, Bridgeton.
 J. B. R. Clark, Califon.
 Joseph A. Poole, Deal Beach.
 Ada B. Nafew, Eatontown.

Henry Otto, Egg Harbor City.
T. C. Birtwhistle, Englewood.
C. D. Nicholson, Grenloch.
John A. Campbell, Highwood.
John A. Reddan, Hopewell.
Hugh G. Stull, Milford.
Lewis A. Shaw, Minotola.
Frances W. Winans, Mountain Lakes.
Walter F. Clayton, Ocean Grove.
Samuel Locker, Parlin.
John B. Hankins, Pemberton.
David C. Brewer, Toms River.
Harry T. Allen, Vincentown.

NEW MEXICO.

John A. Haley, Carrizozo.
L. A. Chandler, Cimarron.
Susan S. Pace, Clayton.
Frank P. Brown, Hachita.
Susano Ortiz, Las Vegas.
George F. Williams, Mogollon.
Joseph A. Beal, Mountainair.
Viola K. Reynolds, Springer.
L. Pascual Martinez, Taos.

NEW YORK.

Joseph A. Weisbeck, Alden.
Joseph T. Norton, Allegany.
George M. Miller, Andes.
Frank C. Lent, Atlanta.
John J. Maloney, Aurora.
William S. Waterbury, Balistion Spa.
John F. Ryan, Batavia.
Peter J. O'Neill, Bay Shore.
William A. Hosley, Belmont.
John H. Ten Eyck, Black River.
Frank E. Ingalls, Brownville.
B. A. Curtiss, Camden.
Jenny L. Abel, Canaan.
Charles H. Beeby, Central Square.
Hiram E. Safford, Cherry Creek.
Murvin L. Becker, Claverack.
Norman S. Taylor, Clayville.
Frederick M. Avery, Cold Water.
George L. Krein, Dansville.
George H. Mills, Delevan.
Edward E. O'Rourke, Ellicottville.
Alpheus D. Jessup, Florida.
William Van Alstyne, Fultonville.
Jonas J. Hover, Germantown.
John B. Judson, Gloversville.
James C. Spalding, Great Neck.
Neil W. Avery, Greenville.
Elizabeth Hollenbeck, Harriman.
Frederick A. Ray, Herkimer.
John Puvogel, Hicksville.
Richard L. Earl, Honeoye Falls.
Arthur Rappleye, Interlaken.
Eli M. Crawford, Keene Valley.
George W. Tracey, Kinderhook.
Robert S. Ames, Lake Placid.
Eugene H. Schneck, La Salle.
Joseph J. Daley, Lewiston.
Leon B. Wright, Lyndonville.
Edward F. Ryan, Lyons Falls.
Charles D. Overacre, Manchester.
John J. Costello, Manlius.
Henry D. Nichols, Mexico.
J. C. Rossman, Mohawk.
Hugh Smiley, Mohonk Lake.
Harvey J. Adams, Moira.
James V. Crawford, Morristown.
William F. Hadley, North Bangor.
James P. Doyle, Nunda.
Chester J. Hinman, Palenville.
Edward Crawford, Pine Bush.
Artemas D. Barton, Pine Plains.
W. Y. McIntosh, Pleasantville.
Robert J. De Lap, Roosevelt.
Anthony J. Beck, St. James.
Gilson D. Wart, Sandy Creek.
Edward J. Hughes, Schuylerville.
Anne B. Adams, Silver Bay.
Leo R. Grover, Silver Springs.
Charles H. Hunting, Smithtown Branch.
Joseph J. Maher, Staatsburg.

John H. Coon, Stanley.
John H. Stoddard, Stevensville.
Nellie E. Lempfert, Stony Brook.
John J. Kesel, Syracuse.
John G. More, Walton.
Frank Tamany, Washingtonville.
John Scally, Westbury.
William B. Townsend, West Coxsackie.
Mabel B. Williams, West Hampton Beach.
John E. Hoffnagle, Westport.

NORTH CAROLINA.

L. T. Sumner, Ahoskie.
A. C. Hughes, Apex.
Daniel L. Windley, Belhaven.
Sallie V. Banks, Camp Glenn.
E. J. Britt, Chadbourne.
Robert S. McRae, Chapel Hill.
Andrew L. Pendleton, Elizabeth City.
H. S. Harrison, Enfield.
Stephen P. Wilson, Fairmont.
William F. Flowers, Fremont.
Lillie N. Fenner, Halifax.
James A. Hines, Highlands.
John G. Buffalo, Jackson.
Ira T. Hunt, Kittrell.
D. D. French, Lumberton.
Robert B. Etheridge, Manteo.
John R. Swann, Marshall.
W. O. Connor, Mars Hill.
J. T. Dick, Mebane.
R. P. Gardner, Mount Holly.
Louis G. Daniels, New Bern (late Newbern).
George W. Waters, Plymouth.
Robert S. Montgomery, Reidsville.
William G. Fussell, Rosehill.
Samuel V. Scott, Sanford.
Cepha L. Harris, Thomasville.
John F. Saunders, Troy.
G. W. Hill, Vineland.
O. K. Holding, Wake Forest.
D. Earl Best, Warsaw.
R. S. Galloway, Winston-Salem.

NORTH DAKOTA.

Nicholas Johnston, Aneta.
Daniel F. Sweeney, Berthold.
John W. Schulenberg, Bisbee.
Frank Reed, Bismarck.
Guy A. Kopriya, Bowbells.
Charles E. Harding, Churchs Ferry.
Frank McGraw, Cogswell.
V. F. Nelson, Cooperstown.
E. Ruth Garvin, Dawson.
Sophie Sherman, Donnybrook.
W. W. Anderson, Edgeley.
D. J. Drummond, Esmond.
Annie Minehan, Garrison.
Christian Reite, Hannaford.
J. H. McLean, Hannah.
Hattie M. Leach, Havana.
Pearl Miller, La Moure.
P. J. Bott, Marmarth.
Frank J. Callahan, McClusky.
Peter Karpen, Medina.
Anthony Hentges, Michigan.
John G. Bateman, Milnor.
W. T. Reilly, Milton.
William T. Wakefield, Mott.
Carl Jahnke, New Salem.
James J. Dougherty, Park River.
Nelle W. Moelling, Ray.
William F. Thompson, Sanish.
P. J. Filbin, Steele.
William F. Kempshall, Taylor.
Lemuel C. Larkin, Thompson.
Henry A. Holmes, Towner.
Joseph Deschenes, Walhalla.
Arthur L. Menard, Wilton.
Andrew D. Cochrane, York.

OREGON.

Dean S. McWilliams, Halsey.
W. A. Richardson, Heppner.
Esther M. Evers, Huntington.
W. A. Delzell, Klamath Falls.
E. E. Bragg, La Grande.

B. L. Hagemann, Milwaukee.
 Vaughn D. Crosby, North Portland.
 J. W. Boone, Prineville.
 L. F. Reizenstein, Roseburg.
 Iva E. Dodd, St. Helens.
 Edith B. Ward, Stanfield.
 R. E. Williams, The Dalles.
 Brazier C. Small, Turner.

PORTO RICO.

Ramon Alfonso Rivera, Arecibo.
 Jose Carrera, Humacao.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Lewis M. Jones, Alcoln.
 Ida A. Calhoun, Clemson College.
 James B. Ehrhardt, Ehrhardt.
 Lullie Giles, Graniteville.
 J. F. Rickenbaker, Lake City.
 Herman H. Bradham, Manning.
 J. R. Montgomery, Marion.
 Henry P. Tindal, North.
 Pierce M. Huff, Piedmont.
 John H. Porter, Ridgeland.
 Pearle H. Padget, Saluda.
 Nevitt Fant, Walhalla.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

F. A. Nutter, Alcester.
 John Debilzan, Andover.
 George L. Baker, Britton.
 Alfred E. Paine, Doland.
 George C. Knickerbocker, Eureka.
 A. D. Griffie, Faulkton.
 James L. Minahan, Geddes.
 W. R. Veitch, Groton.

TEXAS.

W. L. Coleman, Alpine.
 W. D. Armstrong, Alto.
 Lebrun H. Goforth, Anna.
 G. P. Tarrant, Aransas Pass.
 Preston N. Arnold, Arp.
 C. Jefferson Johnson, Austin.
 John C. Wood, Big Sandy.
 Charles H. Jones, Bishop.
 J. H. Logan, Blessing.
 E. B. Hopkins, Brazoria.
 Hugh M. Stevenson, Breckenridge.
 L. V. Holbert, Bremond.
 C. A. Howard, Bronson.
 Cora L. Baker, Buffalo.
 M. D. Parnell, Chico.
 L. E. Haskett, Childress.
 John W. Robbins, Clyde.
 William P. Gibson, Copperas Cove.
 William B. Junell, Cumbly.
 Lula E. Willis, Daingerfield.
 T. W. Hooks, Donna.
 E. L. Correll, El Campo.
 Rufus W. Riddels, Electra.
 R. S. Rike, Farmersville.
 A. M. Gosch, Flatonia.
 S. D. Seale, Floresville.
 W. F. Sponseller, Fowlerton.
 Charles O. Hardy, Francitas.
 August R. Gold, Fredericksburg.
 Johnnie V. Bradley, Gladewater.
 Philip H. Clements, Goldthwaite.
 Eddie C. Slaughter, Goose Creek.
 Charles Johnston, Goree.
 Minerva E. Hendrickson, Grapevine.
 Samuel G. Dean, Haskell.
 T. W. House, Houston.
 William E. McKay, Huntsville.
 Sam Anderson, Knox City.
 William T. Hall, La Porte.
 J. W. Hardcastle, Lexington.
 June Hickman, Livingston.
 Charles M. Wallace, Llano.
 Cora D. Fowler, Lockney.
 Allie M. Erwin, Lorraine.
 Arthur F. Loftis, Manor.
 Carrie E. Smith, Marble Falls.
 Robert Greenwood, Marfa.
 John G. Oltorf, Marlin.
 Joel W. Moore, McDade.

Newman E. Tucker, Mercedes.
 Frosa M. Bailey, Montgomery.
 C. H. Sewell, Overton.
 Mamie Millam, Prairie View.
 John A. Shapard, Rockdale.
 B. B. Lanham, Rockwall.
 Maggie Ellis, Rotan.
 Henry Eilers, jr., Schulenburg.
 Lon Davis, Sealy.
 E. B. Barne, Snyder.
 E. G. Langhammer, Somerville.
 Peter Tighe, Sourlake.
 Bettie Jackson, Stratford.
 Annie S. Watson, Sugar Land.
 Royston C. Crane, Sweetwater (late Sweet Water).
 Almyra L. Williams, Taft.
 W. P. Boyd, Thurber.
 W. W. Trow, Trinity.
 Sidney S. McClendon, Tyler.
 J. W. White, Uvalde.
 W. F. Flynt, Winter.
 William R. Sharpe, Wolfe City.

UTAH.

Albert A. Savage, Hyrum.
 Joseph Anderson, Lehi.
 W. W. Browning, Ogden.
 William L. Adams, Parowan.

VERMONT.

Glen C. Parris, Fairfax.
 Daniel F. Carmody, Fair Haven.
 C. M. Boright, Richford.
 A. H. Gleason, Johnsbury.

VIRGINIA.

William M. Smith, Alexandria.
 George E. Cunningham, Buena Vista.
 James S. Haile, Chatham.
 I. Henry Savage, Chincoteague.
 W. R. Rogers, Crewe.
 David W. Berger, Drakes Branch.
 Louis J. Nottingham, Eastville.
 Claude E. Wiley, Fairfax.
 Samuel C. Cox, Galax.
 Frank W. Sheld, Hampton.
 D. F. Hankins, Houston.
 Gertrude G. Browder, Jarratt.
 Charles E. Clinedinst, New Market.
 H. G. Shackelford, Orange.
 John S. Scott, Parksley.
 Eugene Monroe, Purcellville.
 Hoge M. Brown, Radford.
 Lucile Prince Duane, Stony Creek.
 H. Lester Hooker, Stuart.

VIRGIN ISLANDS.

Bartholin R. Larsen, Christiansted.
 August R. Bissrup, Fredericksted.

WASHINGTON.

Paul L. Paulsen, Addy.
 Thomas J. Quirt, Blaine.
 Henry A. Knapp, Camas.
 Archie Manson, Cashmere.
 Joseph O'Neill, Castlerock.
 Thomas R. Arnold, Cathlamet.
 C. G. Thomas, Cle Elum.
 C. M. Durland, Colville.
 A. J. Peters, Deer Park.
 Carl J. Gunderson, East Stanwood.
 S. J. Mothershead, Edmunds.
 P. F. Billingsley, Ephrata.
 Willard E. Overholt, Farmington.
 Ann E. Sykes, Grandview.
 Martha E. Sprague, Ilwaco.
 Edwin Schauble, Kalama.
 Jefferson P. Buford, Kelso.
 Charles E. Guiberson, Kent.
 Guy A. Hamilton, Leavenworth.
 Maury C. Hayden, Lind.
 G. R. Patterson, Malden.
 Nellie B. Burke, Mansfield.
 Theo Hall, Medical Lake.
 Benjamin L. Smith, Okanogan.
 James O'Farrell, jr., Orting.
 Roscoe A. Belvail, Palouse.
 R. B. Smith, Prescott.

John F. May, Republic.
Dana Child, Spokane.
Robert T. Johnson, Sumas.
Jacob P. Pyles, Sumner.
Charles A. Bergin, Wilkeson.
George P. Wall, Winlock.
John D. Medill, Yakima (late North Yakima).

WEST VIRGINIA.

Orrville A. Beerbower, Albright.
Robert E. Morgan, Davy.
T. W. Ryan, Hendricks.
Okey C. Dawson, Janelews.
C. B. Riggle, Middlebourne.
George B. Henthorn, Paden City.
William Pence, South Charleston.
William B. Spurlock, Wayne.
Herbert T. Davis, West Union.
Warren D. Cline, Williamstown.

WISCONSIN.

Elizabeth Croake, Albany.
Theodore Buehler, Jr., Alma.
Gustave Keller, Appleton.
Albert Hess, Arcadia.
F. C. O. Muenich, Argyle.
Birt E. Fredrick, Augusta.
Henry Wachsmuth, Bayfield.
John V. Swift, Benton.
Annie K. Blanchard, Blanchardville.
George E. Forward, Brandon.
John H. Moller, Bruce.
Ernest D. Singleton, Camp Douglas.
F. A. Partlow, Clear Lake.
William A. Roblier, Colona.
William J. Riedner, Columbus.
Hubert S. Duquaine, Crivitz.
Herman H. Fiedler, Cuba.
Annie W. Bartholomew, Delafield.
Robert Horneck, Elkhart Lake.
W. E. Sherburne, Fremont.
James F. Horan, Friendship.
J. M. Melchior, Gillett.
F. A. Ferriter, Hillsboro.
Simon Skroch, Independence.
Fred Seifert, Jefferson.
Paul E. Stiehm, Johnson Creek.
George H. Schmidt, Kewaskum.
Adolph H. Dionne, Lena.
Frank Leuschen, Marathon.
Franz Markus, Medford.
Henry W. Graser, Menomonee Falls.
George B. Keith, Milton Junction.
John G. Solverson, Nashotah.
Arthur R. Curtis, National Home.
Nicolaus Elmer, New Glarus.
John F. Flanagan, Oconomowoc.
Francis J. Maher, Omro.
Franklin C. Watson, Owen.
Harvey Vincent, Park Falls.
Agnes Scholl, Pewaukee.
Wigand B. Krause, Port Washington.
T. J. Griffin, Prescott.
H. G. Bannerman, Redgranite.
Charles F. Dillelt, Shawano.
Frank Gottsacker, Sheboygan.
George Wildermuth, Sheboygan Falls.
Louis Locke, Shiocton.
George Paquette, Shullsburg.
William M. Ward, Soldiers Grove.
John P. Rice, Sparta.
E. A. Drotning, Stoughton.
Charles A. Gesell, Tomahawk.
F. W. Keuper, Union Grove.
P. F. Melchoir, Wausaukee.
John Vander Linden, West De Pere.
Samuel Dewar, Westfield.
W. H. Weed, Weyauwega.
W. C. Kiernan, Whitewater.
George F. Mader, Winneconne.
G. W. Bishop, Wonewoc.

WYOMING.

Charles O. Lyon, Burns.
Nels J. Simpson, Cambria.
Elizabeth W. Keiffer, Fort Russell.
Charles G. Mudd, Powell.

Louis Schalk, Rawlins.
L. E. Blackwell, Shoshoni.
Juan Jenkins, Upton.
Catherine McCabe, Van Tassell.
John T. Jones, Worland.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THURSDAY, January 24, 1918.

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O Thou, who art from everlasting to everlasting, our God and our Father, infinite in wisdom, power, and love, we come to Thee in prayer, believing that Thou art able to strengthen us to resist the evils from within and from without.

Impart unto us, we beseech Thee, grace sufficient unto this day, that we may register ourselves on the side of right and truth and justice, and at its close lie down to peaceful slumbers, assured that Thou art our refuge and our strength; and Thine be the praise through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

SWEARING IN OF A MEMBER.

Mr. LEE of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, my colleague, Mr. WILLIAM C. WRIGHT, of the fourth district of Georgia, is present and is ready to take the oath of office.

The SPEAKER. The Chair has the credentials of Mr. WRIGHT, properly signed by the governor and the secretary of state, and Mr. WRIGHT will come forward and be sworn.

Mr. WRIGHT appeared at the bar of the House and took the oath of office.

CALL OF THE HOUSE.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FESS], under a special order of the House, is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. LONDON. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that there is no quorum present.

Mr. KITCHIN. I suggest to the gentleman from New York that he withhold that until the gentleman from Ohio has concluded.

Mr. LONDON. Oh, the gentleman from Ohio deserves a proper audience, and I insist upon the point.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York makes the point of order that there is no quorum present. Evidently there is not.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

The motion was agreed to.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

Bland	Fairchild, B. L.	Lenroot	Sanders, N. Y.
Brumbaugh	Fairchild, G. W.	Lobeck	Saunders, Va.
Caldwell	Flynn	McCulloch	Scott, Pa.
Cantrill	Fuller, Mass.	Maher	Scully
Capstick	Garland	Mann	Sherley
Carter, Mass.	Godwin, N. C.	Miller, Wash.	Sims
Carter, Okla.	Goodall	Mondell	Slomp
Chandler, N. Y.	Gould	Mott	Smith, T. F.
Church	Graham, Pa.	Nelson	Snyder
Cooper, Ohio	Gray, N. J.	Nichols, Mich.	Stiness
Costello	Griest	Olney	Sullivan
Currie, Mich.	Hamill	O'Shaunessy	Swift
Curry, Cal.	Hamilton, N. Y.	Overmyer	Templeton
Dale, N. Y.	Heintz	Paige	Treadway
Dale, Vt.	Hollingsworth	Porter	Vare
Davidson	Hood	Pratt	Wilson, Ill.
Dempsey	Hutchinson	Price	Wilson, La.
Dill	Johnson, S. Dak.	Ragsdale	Winslow
Dooling	Johnson, Wash.	Riordan	Wood, Ind.
Drukker	Jones, Va.	Roberts	Woodyard
Estopinal	Kiess, Pa.	Rodenberg	Zihlman
Evans	LaGuardia	Rowland	

The SPEAKER. On this roll 340 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I move to dispense with further proceedings under the call.

The motion was agreed to.

The doors were opened.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Ohio is recognized for 10 minutes.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker and Members of the House, I would like to have the attention of the House a little while on the significance of the dispatches that have been carried in the newspapers for the last four days in relation to the situation in Austria and Hungary. While it is always a doubtful thing to take at full value what is said in these foreign dispatches, since you can not tell how much is in the interest of publicity, this particular situation is very ominous and full of suggestion,

and if I may be permitted to say it, I think there is great promise, if one dare use such an expression in reference to what Austria would call a misfortune, in a revolution, the end of which no one can now undertake to tell. Austria-Hungary, quite unlike Germany, has never been free from the danger of revolution. The Austrian Government, with its dual monarchy, is an organization which is a combination of one empire and one sovereign kingdom with a common head. Each of these units has a separate and independent legislative department, as well as executive department. They do, however, have a common king, who gets his position by virtue of belonging to the House of Hapsburg, which has been the ruling house of both Austria and Hungary since the close of the sixteenth century. In 1867 there was an agreement reached by which there should be a uniform or single government, although each legislature sits separately to legislate on all matters except that of finance, foreign affairs, and military affairs. Those matters are under the common rule of the two, and are the main departments of the ministry. When the legislatures can not get together on matters of legislation they reach a uniform conclusion through their houses of delegates, which are in reality a committee of estimates selected from the legislative houses, 20 from the upper house and 40 from the lower house, making 60 members in each part of the dual monarchy. These men sit separately and make their recommendations in writing, and after three efforts to agree, in case they fail they then sit together and vote it out as one body. There has also been for years a combination for commercial purposes called the Commercial Customs Union, that lasts during a 10-year period. That has been going on for a good while, with very much dissatisfaction in recent years. So, Mr. Speaker, it was a common thought throughout much of the world that with the death of the late Emperor, Francis Joseph, the dual monarchy would break up into its separate units, as before 1867, but the heat of war prevented that, and the monarchy still stands in its dual character.

But there is a very serious condition that arises out of dissatisfaction which must be increasingly widespread and ominous. First, because of economic or industrial conditions there. You might say that it is grounded on social unrest that you find in Russia and in a lesser degree in Germany. However, while the papers state that the social or economic condition is the most prominent source of disaffection, just now, I believe, as a student of history, that the unrest is below the economic and industrial depression partly due to the war, because that would be temporary. But, fellow Members of the House, if you take either one of these units you find a condition unlike any other place in Europe, which must make for an increasing and permanent unrest until relief is provided. For example, the ruling people of Austria are the Germans, speaking the German language, but they are not in uniform sympathy with the Germans in the German Empire, and must not, therefore, be regarded wholly subservient to the wishes of the Hohenzollern régime. They are widely different, because, while the German Empire is made up of 75 per cent Protestant in religion, the Austrian Empire, speaking not of Hungary but of Austria, is made up of 88 per cent Catholic. They have not been together except in military alliances. The Kaiser has never been able to win the Catholic element in Germany. In this field we see the greatest diplomacy undertaken by him when he appointed Von Hertling, the Bavarian, to be chancellor of the Empire, who, by the way, is a Catholic, in order to win the clerical element in the Reichstag. The difference between Austria and Germany on the religious question is now and has always been acute. However, that is not the chief item of unrest between these two German groups. There is a much more serious condition. Austria must see that she is a loser in this war in any case. If the central powers succeed, Austria loses. If the entente powers succeed, she does not lose any worse. Germany not only furnishes the brains of all the military organizations of Austria to-day, but she also furnishes munitions and the money, in the form of scrip, with which to buy the munitions that are supplied by Germany. Germany is now and has been from the beginning taking munitions out of Belgium and the ore out of the mines of France and of Serbia, taking the material out of which to make the munitions and selling them to Austria, as well as Bulgaria and Turkey, and loaning the scrip to these countries, especially to Austria, with which to pay for it. I wish to emphasize the business aspect of this country in relation to Austria. In other words, Germany is fighting this war with profit to herself, save the loss of men, and that is a frightful loss to her. But she is taking what does not belong to her, save by might, and in her ability to market it to her allies she puts them under abject slavery to her, from which Austria alone can never recover. That is generally conceded. As long as Germany's printing presses will run she will loan this scrip to Austria with which

to pay for the supplies that she buys from Germany, and in that way she has become inextricably a subservient, servile slave to the German Empire, and she must see it. I think that it is recognized now among a large proportion of her people that if the central powers win she loses. Germany's pan-Germanism, which sees German domination from Hamburg to Bagdad, is well known to Austria. Politically Austria is made up of 23,000,000 people. Out of that 28,000,000 not quite 10,000,000 speak the German language and are the ruling element in Austria. Ten millions out of 28,000,000—slightly over 33½ per cent. This one-third rules the other two-thirds of her people.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman may proceed—for how many minutes?

Mr. FESS. For 10 minutes.

Mr. STAFFORD. For 10 minutes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Wisconsin asks unanimous consent that the gentleman from Ohio may proceed for 10 minutes. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, this Austro-Hungarian territory is an interesting State, from the standpoint of nationality. Here are the Slavs, the people who became the ruling element in this section of the world in quite an early period. I will, if the House will permit me, insert in the RECORD a hasty sketch of the changes of this section under rulership since the seventh century. I do not want to do it now, because I have not the time. Here came a peculiar people in the history of the world, called the Magyar. They are a warlike people, and they drove themselves westward into the very heart of the Slav section and divided the Slav people into the northern and the southern Slav. The Magyars are the ruling people in Hungary. They could not go beyond what now is the German border. They did overrun great portions of Austria, and later on were driven back. This people is a unique people. They do not readily coalesce with other people. Their autonomy in government, as well as their language and their customs, has been retained. But Austria began to expand—or rather the House of Hapsburg—until it covers a great portion of this Slavic people, who have been overrun both to the north and to the south by the Magyar. To the north you have the famous Bohemian country, one of the oldest in Europe. This is a famous people, who have maintained their independence in their language and customs and very largely in law, but they are a subject people. A little to the east are the Poles, under the Province of Silesia. Farther east are the Ruthenians, in the Province of Galicia, under the control of Austria. In this section is a large aggregation of Slav people, still insistent upon their rights, but totally subject to a people who are foreign to them. Then, down in the southern country are the southern Slav, the Serbo-Croats. You therefore have the Croats and also an Italian element in Dalmatia. In other words, in the country of Austria alone you have 16,000,000 of Slavic people denied their privilege in government by only 10,000,000, who are the ruling element in the country and who are German.

Over in here [indicating on the map] are the Roumanians, who are Roman in nationality, and speak the modern Latin. You also have the Slovenes, many of whom are under this dual Government. They are Slavish. You also have Bosnia, another Slavic people; Bulgaria, settled by the Bulgars, also Slavic. In other words, here is a foreign country ruling through a minority, with a hand of iron, a vast population that vastly outnumbered them.

Going to their Government, we find the Government of Austria made up of two houses. The Reichsrath is made up of the upper and lower house. In the upper house there are 14 princes from the royal family, 81 nobles—landlords—10 archbishops, and 7 bishops, who bear their title by inheritance, and from 150 to 170 of selectives chosen by the Emperor at his will. And that is the real legislative body now in Austria, responsible to nobody except the Emperor.

If I would be permitted to give you the make-up of the lower house, there are 17 Provinces in Austria—I am not now talking about Hungary but Austria alone. You understand they maintain their separate entities. There are 17 Provinces here, represented in the Reichsrath. The lower house has 516 members, as follows: Lower Austria has 64 members; upper Austria, 22; Salzburg, 7; Styria, 30; Carinthia, 10; Carniola, 12; Trieste, 5; and Gorz, 6—191. In these eight Provinces the German element is strong but not exclusive. There are many of them out of sympathy with the régime governed by the German element. On the other hand, note the other Provinces: Bohemia has 130; Moravia, which is the Slovak, has 49; Silesia, the Polish, has 15; Galicia, the Ruthenian, 106; Bukovina, 14; Dalmatia, the Italian, 11. We here have 325 members representing the

subject people in the lower house, all of whom are dissatisfied with Austrian domination, while in the former group we have 191, many of whom are out of sympathy with the ruling house in Germany. Quite naturally the question arises, "Why could not these subject people, therefore, overrule anything that would be brought up in the lower house?" Yes; they could. But do not forget that the lower house of Austria, so far as I can ascertain, has not been in session since March of 1914. The house of delegates supersede the law-making body.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. May I ask why?

Mr. FESS. In time of war in a country so governed it might not do to let them come together. It must appear to us all that the representatives in that legislative body must not interfere with the monarch. With a situation like that constitutionally, where these people have a semblance or show of right, all of which is denied them, there is unrest, and inevitably so. I should like to take the time to indicate the political phase of this situation as indicated by party division.

The German Nationalists in the lower house number 100, the Christian Socialists 73, the German Socialists 49. The three groups which I have given are all Germans. Of these 222 German representatives, 122 of them are Socialists in politics, and as such are opposed to the German régime as carried on by Kaiser William in the German Empire. They have been, historically speaking, entirely out of sympathy with pan-Germanism on the Kaiser's platform. And yet that is the German element in Austria.

The real significance is more marked when we note the political complexion in the balance of this house. The Bohemian Club has 84 members, the Bohemia Social Democrats 25, the Poles 70, and the Polish Social Democrats 9, and 111 others variously divided.

Mr. GARD. Mr. Speaker, at this time I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman's time may be extended 10 additional minutes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Ohio asks unanimous consent that the time of his colleague be extended for 10 minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. FESS. I am very much obliged to my colleague.

These elements that are non-German, in Austria, expressed by the political differentiation to which I was calling the attention of the House when my time expired, will make up 299 of the membership, while the German element is 222; and, mark you, that element is divided, because they are the Nationalists, in which are found those members who hold to and support the Crown, and, on the other hand, the Socialists, which constitute the greater number, who insist upon being given more rights. And this group are all the German or ruling element. So that when we enter into the inner condition of Austria—and what I say about Austria in a lesser sense could be said about Hungary—you see every element of revolution is present, awaiting the chance for an outlet.

The Hungarian Government is organized on a similar basis to the Austrian Government, so that what I have said about Austria can in a lesser way be said about Hungary. When we examine the provincial or local legislatures you find the famous Landtag in Austria and Hungary, as you have it in Germany, where are found their election districts. There is but one house in the provincial legislature. What is singular in both of these countries is that the electorate is so classified that the elected people are not popularly representative. For example: They are divided into six classes: (1) Bishops and archbishops of Catholic and Greek Churches; (2) rectors of universities; (3) owners of great estates elected by taxpaying landowners; (4) representatives of towns, elected by citizens possessed of specified municipal rights; (5) representatives of boards of commerce, selected by members; (6) representatives of the rural communities elected by all those who pay direct tax. The electoral system is so constituted that when you eliminate, or rather when you consider all of the limitations that are written in the law, you have eliminated the popular right of participating in the legislation in the Landtag by the majority, as we here understand democracy, by this peculiar method of election. In other words, one element represents a certain class, religious in character; another element a less-favored class, but nevertheless favored in education facilities; and still another class distinguished by business, and so on. It is not a representation of people but of groups, which is never possible in a democracy. All this shows fertile soil for deep-seated unrest.

So, Members of the House, when you take up the dispatches that are coming out of Vienna the past few days, I think that there is rational ground for our belief that a break-up is promised in the dual monarchy.

Mr. SUMNERS. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. FESS. I will.

Mr. SUMNERS. To what extent does this division in the representative party indicate the division in the body of the citizenship? I understand the gentleman stated that the citizenship was not properly represented in the legislative body.

Mr. FESS. If I understand the question, it is, How many people would be represented by this particular circle or that particular class?

Mr. SUMNERS. Yes. What conclusion is the Government to draw as to the division of the people with reference to this war?

Mr. FESS. The conclusion I wanted to leave with the House is that the vast mass of the people have very little voice in legislation, while the selected few have a great voice. That is what I wanted to leave with the House.

The reason why I wanted to present this phase of it at this time is that the Committee on Foreign Affairs has reported a bill to exempt from the operation of the alien-enemy act these several subject peoples now resident in the United States that are, when considered under international law, conceded subjects of Austria-Hungary, but who are perforce very much opposed to Austria-Hungary. They are the Czechs from Bohemia, the Slovaks from Moravia, the Poles from Silesia, the Ruthenians from Galicia, and a great number of Roumanians from the eastern section of Hungary, a great number of Serbians from the south country, and many Italians from the Adriatic country, and also very many Croatians and Slovenes. I looked up our immigration tables. It is stated therein that we have about 3,000,000 of them in this country, many of them not citizens; why I do not know. But just the moment the opportunity came, by our declaration of war, for them to show their opposition to their ancient enemy and their favor for our country they sprang to the colors and went into the Army. But we were not at war with Austria-Hungary for many months, and when we declared war against the dual monarchy internationally we made them alien enemies, which embarrassed both them and us. We can not enlist alien enemies, and those in the service if taken prisoner would, of course, be executed at once as traitors. We have reported a bill in order to remove so far as our country can that international inability. It does not assure them, however, exemption from execution if they are taken prisoner. But, gentlemen, I meant to say that their conduct shows the spirit of unrest in that country. They are volunteering, and they have gone at once to fight the battles of our country as well as to fight against their ancient enemy.

Our subcommittee had before it, on its own solicitation, the famous pianist, Paderewski. I shall never forget the plea that he made when for two hours he pleaded for the right of the Poles in this country to form a separate unit, not to be coalesced and lost by absorption in the American Army, but to be a unit of Poles from America, by the side of the American soldier, the French soldier, the British soldier, and the Italian soldier, to fight his enemy; and when we raised the question as to whether or not we could do it, he said the psychology of the situation was most significant and easily explained. Those people in that country are restless; they have suffered for centuries; they have suffered lack of freedom. They are not naturally rebellious, except that they want the right to use their own language, and they wish to observe their own customs, and they desire the right of freedom of worship according to their own conscience, and they do not want to be oppressed; and if they could know that there upon the west front there was to be a unit of soldiers made up solely of this class, and another of that class, the influence on their kin in those oppressed countries could not be easily overestimated. The spirit of revolt against oppression is ever present and will be wonderfully stimulated by such action.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Ohio has again expired.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman may be permitted to proceed until he finishes his remarks.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, I will not agree to that at all.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Say, 10 minutes.

Mr. FESS. One minute, Mr. Speaker, is all that I will take.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Make it five minutes.

Mr. FESS. Very well. I thank my friend from Michigan.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Michigan asks unanimous consent that the gentleman from Ohio may proceed for five minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. FESS. There is a dispute among authorities as to the classification of this population in Hungary. One of the leading Hungarian scholars in America claims that at least 60 per cent of that population are a subject people and in a state of unrest, but the figures that I have taken that are usually regarded as authentic—taken from the census—made this classifi-

cation: The Magyars in Hungary, who are the ruling class and not German, understand, really not friendly to the Germans, are 10,000,000 in round numbers, while the Germans are only 2,000,000 in Hungary; the Slovaks 2,000,000—I am giving in round numbers—the Roumanians 3,000,000, the Lithuanians half a million, the Croats 2,000,000, the Serbians a little over 1,000,000, and then others, including the Jews, would be half a million. In this list of figures you see the same thing. The ruling class, the Magyars, with no sympathy with the Germans and the German people, are still in a minority, so that this whole empire is a mere polyglot of Europe and becoming this minute a whirlpool; and if there should be an overturning, which is not at all impossible but most probable, it would be not only economic and social but political as well, and I should not be at all surprised to see within the next few days some powerful uprisings. Of course it must be understood the German Army, or rather German officers of the Austrian Army, has control, and will stop short of nothing to suppress it. It will then be a case of the loyalty of the soldier, for without that this country would overturn the house of Hapsburg overnight.

Mr. MEEKER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a question there?

Mr. FESS. Yes.

Mr. MEEKER. Is it the opinion of the gentleman that if such an arrangement should be made, as was suggested by the famous Pole in this country, it would aid in that movement?

Mr. FESS. I think without a doubt it would aid; and not only that, but I think we are thoroughly justified in taking any step that is honorable to lead to that consummation. We would not do it—we would not stir up any unrest—in a country with which we are not at war, but we are justified in stirring up any sort of unrest in our enemy's country. There is no diplomatic delicacy in that, and if we can do this and get the word to them—and Paderewski says it will trickle through and they will get it—it is one of the ways to weaken our enemy, and we ought to do it.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Has the gentleman anything to say as to what has been done to carry out Paderewski's suggestion?

Mr. FESS. I understand steps have been taken and such units are now being formed and training for such officering has already been undertaken. The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FARR] so informs me.

I am not speaking of what is being done by other countries of our allies. It is known there are such units on the front already.

Mr. Speaker, I now wish, at the risk of some duplication, to devote some time to a brief statement of the historical development of the situation in the dual monarchy, with special reference to facts which give a basis for a break; also a brief statement of the Balkan problem.

THE CHANGING MAP OF EUROPE.

Austria-Hungary is a dual monarchy made up of the addition of two sovereignties, with all the attributes of control in government—equal save that the common Emperor, either by choice or obligation, resides in the capital of one of them. Each monarchy exercises supreme control over its own affairs, attempts agreement over matters common to both, and is composed of various and diverse peoples subject to the ruling house, but unwilling subjects because of the refusal of either to consult them in matters of the highest interest to them. Austria is composed of three kingdoms, two margraviates, two archduchies, six duchies, two principalities, and two Crown lands. The Emperor, who holds his sovereign position at will and with the consent of none but himself, is head of each of these Provinces, and therefore bears the title "His Imperial and Apostolic Royal Majesty, Emperor of Austria, King of Bohemia, and so forth, and Apostolic King of Hungary." He is the head of a hereditary house, the oldest in Europe. By virtue of this headship all Austria consists of family lands, whose titles date back to the Duke of Alsace in the seventh century. This Empire evolved through conquest and inheritance, through blood and marriage, from a house whose Hapsburg identity began in the ninth century. In those days of Charlemagne, when the Hapsburg family began to receive recognition, there was neither Austria nor Hungary, but all the country now known as the dual monarchy was occupied by Slavs, the original peoples to claim the Danubian country, save a very small portion, which was under Charlemagne, the Teuton. Even that was Slav country, but overrun by the empire builder. By the close of the twelfth century the country now occupied by the dual monarchy was still occupied by Slav peoples with specific territorial boundaries mapped out for the Bulgars, Serbians, Slavonians, Croatsians, and Bosnians. Bohemia and Silesia were

parts of the Empire of Frederick Barbarossa, as was a mere strip of country then called Austria. At this time the Kingdom of Hungary was between the Kingdom of Poland on the north and the Slav Provinces on the south. The famous fighting tribe known as Magyar, arising out of the east, came pouring in through the Slav countries, until, like a wedge, it drove into the very heart of this early Danubian people, splitting them into two quite distinct peoples from a territorial standpoint, but not racial. Henceforth the Magyar invasion, which established the Hungarian nation in the very heart of this ancient Slav people, permanently divided them into the northern Slav and the southern Slav nations.

A map of this period will show Hungary stretching from Bulgaria to Bavaria and from Bosnia to Moravia. Austria is insignificant, but the Hapsburg House included with Austria the Provinces of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola. The great Hungarian wedge did not obliterate the independent Slav kingdoms such as Poland, Bohemia, Silesia, Galicia, and Lithuania. However, the Czechs and Slovaks were under the Empire at this time, but did not lose their autonomy. It will be noted the Hapsburg house in the fourteenth century was quite insignificant in its dominions as compared to a later period.

Near the close of the fourteenth century the Servian principalities occupied most of the archipelago between Bulgaria on the east and Dalmatia and Albania along the Adriatic. Turkey in Europe had not yet become a serious reality. The chief country outside of Serbia was Hungary, which stretched from Bulgaria and Serbia on the south to Poland and Bohemia on the north and the Holy Roman Empire on the west, including both Bosnia and Dalmatia. As was said, Austria was a mere spot on the map.

In the time of Charles the Fifth, in the sixteenth century, the Ottoman Empire overran all of the southern Slav countries, which is the beginning of the troublesome Balkan problem never more sensitive than now, and the real cause of the present war. Bohemia joined with Hungary for independence, but the House of Hapsburg, by conquest and heredity, secured a foothold in most of western Europe. This is the one significant fact of this century. It is the beginning of the Bohemian and Moravian persecutions. In the middle of the seventeenth century the Turk extended the Ottoman Empire beyond and including all the southern Slav country, also Hungary and Transylvania, while the Hapsburg House added within its boundaries the kingdom of Bohemia. The Slav, both north and south, became subject, the former to the Austrian control, the latter to the Ottoman or Turkish control. In the eighteenth century the Ottoman Empire was driven back by the Hapsburg power, which then included northern Italy, the southern Slav countries of Croatia, Slavonia, the northern Slav countries of Bohemia, Silesia, and Moravia, as well as Transylvania. Austria and Hungary were at this time as distinct as were the north and south Slav countries. Thus these Slav countries supplied two autocratic nationalities with spoils of warfare as they contended with each other for territory that belonged to neither, except by right of the sword. At the opening of the nineteenth century Napoleon remapped Europe. The Turkish Empire still included the southern Slav countries; the House of Hapsburg was confined to Austria, Hungary, and Bohemia; the confederation of the Rhine occupied what is now Germany, while the empire of Napoleon occupied most of what was left of Europe.

In all these years the various Slav countries, though subject, were ever contending for independence as a right. One hundred years later, at the opening of the present century, the dual monarchy, Austria-Hungary, which assumed this dual character after all Europe had rocked in the revolutions of 1848, was a mere conglomeration of diverse peoples. Neither half possessed the character of national spirit, much less did the Empire realize such character. Austria was made up of Slavs, Germans, Italians, Roumanians, and Magyars. The Germans, less numerous, were nevertheless the ruling element, while the others were unwilling subjects. The Slavs were divided geographically but not otherwise into northern and southern. Among the former, as was stated before, were the Czechs or Bohemians, Slovaks or Moravians, the Poles of Silesia, and the Ruthenians of Galicia, together the larger portion of the population. The southern or Yugoslavs were those in Croatia and Slavonia.

WHY THE SPIRIT OF REVOLUTION?

There never has been a time when the Austrian Government, the most reactionary in modern times, did not face a spirit of revolution surging through the mass consciousness of a subjected people which at all times outnumbered the ruling population. This country at the opening of the war was the overlord of nationalities like the Czechs of Bohemia, the Slovaks

of Moravia, the Poles of Silesia, the Ruthenians of Galicia, the Serbo-Croats of Croatia, all of which as historical entities are vastly older than anything Austrian, save the House of Hapsburg, which originally was foreign to this Empire. To-day Austria is but a vassal of Germany, which may delay the inevitable outbreak of an oppressed people.

These subject people have a passion for nationality that has persisted with a tenacity throughout centuries of torture and oppression that is an abiding wonder. Take Bohemia as one example, a kingdom so powerful as to wage a contest with Charlemagne; a country of which it was said, "The nation that rules Bohemia will rule Europe." This country has been under the heel of almost every autocratic ruling house in Europe; a country which has been the battle ground of religion of all sects, of rival houses in government, of contending nationalities. Over her boundaries have surged back and forth hordes of warlike peoples. The country of the famous John Huss saw a religious war whose severity is not known in civilized history. In 1621 Bohemian leaders were executed, and her constitution was suppressed; her property in lands was handed over to despoilers. All she possessed as a country, save her indomitable spirit, was taken from her. Every effort, ranging from attempted bribery to wholesale murder, was used in efforts running through a period of 200 years to stifle the passion for national independence. But all in vain. How different in the ruling nation. There is not now, neither can there be, what might properly be called a national spirit in Austria. The ruling house is by the power of the sword maintaining the hereditary throne, not by the consent of the people. This house for 12 centuries has been in existence and has maintained its rule by the sword. The system of the electorate, in name popular but in reality a mere farce, is so divided that the landowners absolutely control the nation. The system of education, which saw in 1908 an illiteracy of 40 per cent of her people, was conducted in the interest of Germans, the ruling class. In the dual monarchy there is no such thing as the fatherland or the motherland. The people in Bohemia, Silesia, Moravia, Galicia, Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia have always looked upon Austria as an oppressor which denies to peoples of strict national entities older than the Empire the most sacred and inalienable rights, such as the use of their own language, their style of worship, their peculiar habits of thought as expressed in dress and various customs, and their independence in government. These Provinces possess national passions all at variance with autocratic government, while the Empire exercises power usurped by the sword against the will of these oppressed people—a condition which compels a chasm impossible to bridge.

This situation explains the recent reference of the premier of England when he said:

Although we agree with President Wilson that the breaking up of Austria-Hungary is no part of our war aims, we feel that unless genuine self-government on true democratic principles is granted those Austro-Hungarian nationalities who have long desired it, it is impossible to hope for removal of those causes of unrest in that part of Europe which so long have threatened its genuine peace. The right of self-government should apply to enemy as well as friend. On the same ground we regard with vital satisfaction the legitimate claims of the Italians for union with those of their own race and tongue. We also mean to press that justice be done to the men of Roumanian blood and speech to their legitimate aspirations. If these conditions were fulfilled Austria-Hungary would become a power whose strength would conduce to the permanent peace and freedom of Europe instead of being an instrument of the pernicious Prussian military autocracy.

It is to this situation the President referred when in his war aims he said:

The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

One year ago when Lloyd-George spoke of the aims of the allies he used specific language touching these peoples, in which he declared these aims include "the liberation of Slavs, Italians, Roumanians, and Czechoslovaks from foreign domination." This is the oft-repeated demand of the allies, of self-determination in matters of the government of a people.

DEMANDS OF THE OPPRESSED PEOPLES IN AUSTRIA.

These subject people, who far outnumber the ruling people, and by race, religion, and language are differentiated from them, constantly persist in certain well-defined demands. They ask for their liberty and political independence, that they may form their ideal federation, in which the genius of each people might develop along its own national trait and passion. Among these peoples are to be found various differences in religion. They demand the right to worship according to their light. They demand the right to the adoption and free use of their own tongue, which would enhance their intellectual as well as commercial intercourse. They have an ambition for a native literature couched in the language of their fathers. They naturally wish

to be free to announce and espouse such political philosophy as their forward-looking men might wish to develop. Their views of democracy, which would naturally be averse to monarchy, should not be suppressed, they claim, simply because it may not be acceptable to a ruling class whose position is attained by birth and by the consent of no one. These people for centuries have been more or less communistic, which principle tenaciously adheres to them.

They demand this custom, which has become law to them, shall not be denied by a ruling power entirely foreign in sympathy with these national traits. These foregoing demands have grown into a passion with most of the population of the monarchy, while, on the other hand, Austria-Hungary as a ruling power has no sympathy whatever with the various claims of these subject people who make up at least 60 per cent of the Empire, and most of whom are Slavs. Even in Hungary the half of the Empire generally regarded more modern has followed the lead of the Austrian half. The Magyar, the ruling element in Hungary, is less autocratic than the German, the ruling element in Austria. Yet in the former oppression is evident.

As will be recalled, all this territory was once occupied by the Slavs. When the Magyars drove a wedge into the heart of the Slav territory and thus definitely separated it into the northern and southern Slav countries, they succeeded for the time in preventing a great Slav kingdom in the Danubian country by weakening national defense. In the northern the oldest inhabitants, independent politically, were overrun by Teutons and Magyars, and thus became subject, but they never lost their identity. The southern or Yugo-Slavs were partially overrun. However, the Serbian, Montenegrin, and Bulgarian—the Roumanian were not Slavs—successfully resisted both Teuton and Magyar control, but all except Montenegro suffered Turkish conquest.

THE BALKAN SITUATION.

This at once opens up the Balkan situation, which is by far the most complicated, as well as the most sensitive, issue in European politics. A careful examination will explain why any disturbance in this quarter of the world compels all Europe to hold its breath until quiet is restored. Here is the real whirlpool of Europe. It is the receptacle which became a veritable vortex into which was poured, in ages past, an assortment of almost every people of the world. The Romans and Greeks from the west; the Slav, the Bulgar, and the Hun from north and east; the Goths, the Visigoths, the Vandals, the Lombards from the north and west; and the Turks from the southwest. Here were traces of the Semitic tribes from the Levant. In this peninsula were found Romans, the Goths and Huns, the Tartars and Slavs, the Serbs and Bulgars, the Saracens, the Turks, and the Normans. This peninsula was the meeting place of streams of population from every quarter. Through it have poured streams of national force, representing every phase of religion, every form of government, every system of trade, and many cults of a complicated civilization. It was the track of the invader from north, east, and west and the scene of many a racial conflict. It has been the battle ground of ideas as well as armed forces. Among its people to-day can be noted a unity in a great variety. There have survived here a people of common characteristics yet widely different. The Greek in Greece, the Slav in Serbia, Montenegro, and Bulgaria, and the Roman in Roumania. Yet in some ways Bulgaria is closely related to Turkey, while Montenegro and Serbia, somewhat influenced, never had sympathy with either Turkey, Rome, or the Teuton, but always Slav. Dalmatia, Italian in sympathy, but subject to Austria, has ever been, and will continue to be, a bone of contention until allowed to select its allegiance. These are the scenes where have been fought the age-long battles for autonomy against Turkish conquest on the one hand and Teuton-Magyar invasions on the other. Being Slav, Russia has kept a watchful eye over them, urging a union or at least a Balkan federation in spirit if not in form. To Russia more than to any other country is due the spirit of a Balkan union. The purpose is apparent to all students of nation building. There must not be an unfriendly power between the Russian Empire and the Mediterranean waters.

It has been apparent for years that Germany and Austria have looked to an outlet to the Mediterranean. It is but a part of the famous Mittel-Europa ambition of the Teuton, so prominently stressed just now. Turkey has long held the Dardanelles, which closes out Russia. The Slav Provinces lie in the way of the Teuton's march on Macedonia and bar him from the Mediterranean except via Dalmatia, nominally a kingdom of Austria but Italian in character, which lies west of Bosnia, a Slavic people, but in governmental control belonged to Turkey. In the seventies Austria was allowed, without the consent of Bosnia, to occupy it by a military force. This Teuton aggres-

sion by agreement with Turkey, but against the wishes of both Bosnia and the Slav interests, pointed to the Teuton movement and future trouble with Russia. Later, when Turkey had her troubles with the Balkan States, which was almost perennial if not unceasing, Austria took advantage of the situation and annexed both Bosnia and Herzegovina to her domains. This was regarded as wholly without right or justice to the people of these Slav areas, and conclusive of the purpose of enlarging her dominion and a step nearer to the Teuton goal—the Mediterranean. Had the spirit of union in the Balkans been strong enough to overcome the state of jealousy among them this Austrian conquest would not have occurred. In 1914, when Austria, because of the assassination of her heir in the capital of Bosnia, demanded of Serbia to permit an army to cooperate in the suppression of alleged rebellious juntas within Serbian territory, the real purpose to place an Austrian army in Serbia could not be misunderstood, in the light of her aggression two years before. It was obvious; hence Germany's interest on the one hand and Russia's on the other in Austria's ultimatum to Serbia. This unfortunate peninsula, which has been watered by the best blood of the various peoples of the Old World as the early hordes marched to and fro, now as conquerors, then as conquered, is still holding the attention of the world. For ages Turkey yearned to cover it with Moslem authority. She enjoyed a success for years, only to lose out for all time to come.

Russia in her laudable ambition to reach the sea has maintained a consistent purpose to insure a Balkan federation of Slav nationalities strong enough to resist aggression from whatever quarter, and thereby insure a friendly connection with Mediterranean people.

England, ever watchful over her interests on all seas, and especially the Mediterranean, desired a Balkan group strong enough to stay the southern wave of Teuton ambition, on the one hand, and to maintain a balance between them and Turkey, that the latter may remain the keeper of the gateway from Asia to Europe. Her control of Constantinople was preferable, since it was safer in the hands of a second-rate power than in control of a first-class power, as either Russia or a Teutonic nation.

This accounts for England's attitude of friendship for Turkey in Europe throughout the past 100 years.

Hence, when Austria announced her indefensible ultimatum, which in effect was a declaration of subjection of Serbia to Austria, Germany was interested in the success of her ally, while Russia was alarmed for the same reason. Hence the rapid succession of military events and the world-wide confusion over war's alarms.

Mr. Speaker, I did not mean to discuss at this time the Balkan situation, although it is the heart of world war at its inception. I desire to do no more here than to throw light upon the unhappy subject people of the dual monarchy, that we may do justice to that portion of them who reside within our borders, and who at the earliest opportunity entered the Army to fight against their oppressor from whom they fled to seek shelter in America. They are not only fighting for America but against their oppressor, for the liberty of their people still under the yoke of bondage. This situation indicates Austrian disintegration. There is an ominous unrest among the subject people of the dual monarchy, because they are without freedom in an empire that now has become doubly oppressive since its population is totally under the Germans, whether in Austria or Hungary. Hundreds of thousands of these dissatisfied people have in years past left their homes to find a haven in America. The census of 1910 gives 2,702,000 people in our country from Austria alone. They represent more than half the population of the empire, charged with the same national instincts. Many of those who came here entered the ranks of the allies to fight the enemy of their people. To-day there is a Bohemian army of not less than 120,000 somewhere in line. Whatever significance can be attached to the general uprisings now in the dual monarchy it is not too much to say that Austria must break. She is ruled by one family instead of by 10 nations, of which she is to-day composed. Who can tell the effect upon these subject people of the knowledge if it can be gotten to them of an army of their countrymen in ranks fighting for their liberation?

Mr. Speaker, anyone conversant with the history of this reactionary nation and the treatment of the majority of the people within her domains, all of whom are denied their liberties, must conclude that one result of the war must be a complete emancipation of these peoples from the yoke of the Hapsburg oppressor. We may see this accomplished yet by those of the oppressed.

AGRICULTURAL APPROPRIATIONS.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 9054) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919; and, pending that, I would like to see if we can not come to some agreement about the time for general debate. What suggestion has the gentleman from Iowa to make?

Mr. HAUGEN. I have enough requests here to take about six hours to accommodate. They are very urgent requests, and if it is possible to accommodate them I hope it will be done. It would require six hours.

Mr. LEVER. On that basis it would take 12 hours' debate. I do not think we should have that much debate.

Mr. HAUGEN. I appreciate that that will require a great deal of time, but I was stating the fact.

Mr. LEVER. I will say to the gentleman from Iowa that I myself have many requests for time, but I have been informing those who have made the requests and those to whom I have promised time that we ought to reduce it somewhat. I wonder if the gentleman could not get along with two and one-half hours?

Mr. HAUGEN. That would be more than cutting the time in two. I may say that much of the discussion on this side is going to be devoted to the bill by members of the committee and other Members who have given a good deal of study to certain of its provisions. For that reason I think they should be accommodated, because there will really be no time lost. The time will be consumed in the five-minute debate, if not given in general debate.

Mr. LEVER. If we are willing to be a little more liberal in the matter of time, would the gentleman be willing to agree that the general debate shall be confined to the bill?

Mr. HAUGEN. I do not think so. That would be to change the rule entirely. I do not think we ought to change the rule. We ought to adhere to the rule and expedite matters as far as possible. I am perfectly in sympathy with the gentleman in his desire to expedite the passage of this bill. I am perfectly willing, as far as I am concerned, to meet at 11 o'clock and run these debates along in the evening, or do anything to expedite the passage of the bill; but I believe we can do it by accommodating the gentlemen who have requested the time.

Mr. GILLET. I suggest that we meet at 11 o'clock to-morrow morning for general debate. I do not think there will be any opposition on this side. I would not like to have the House meet at 11 o'clock under the five-minute rule, but for general debate I do not think there would be any objection.

Mr. LEVER. Let me make this suggestion to the gentleman from Iowa: It is now 10 minutes after 1. If the House stays in session until 6 o'clock this afternoon and meets at 11 o'clock to-morrow morning, will the gentleman agree that the general debate shall continue during the day and for two hours to-morrow? That would give about seven hours' general debate.

Mr. HAUGEN. Much of that time might be consumed in roll calls and one thing and another; and if so, Members would be deprived of the privilege.

Mr. LEVER. I take it that the roll calls would not be taken out of that time. I meant two solid hours to-morrow for debate.

Mr. HAUGEN. I think the best way and the proper way would be to fix the time.

Mr. LEVER. I would much prefer to do that, myself.

Mr. HAUGEN. Is it possible to arrange for 10 hours, to cut the time down to five hours on each side?

Mr. LEVER. I think we can get along with seven hours on this proposition, the gentleman taking three and a half and I the same.

Mr. HAUGEN. As I have stated, I have requests for six hours, which would require 12 hours, 6 hours on a side. Cutting it to three and a half hours on a side, of course, is cutting the time nearly in half, and the requests which I have for time are urgent.

Mr. LEVER. Would the gentleman be willing to begin the general debate now, run it until 6 o'clock, and commencing at 11 to-morrow, run the debate until 3 o'clock in the afternoon?

Mr. HAUGEN. I think the proper and usual way is to agree on a certain number of hours.

Mr. GILLET. That would be practically 10 hours. I think we would agree to that, and begin at 11 o'clock to-morrow.

Mr. HAUGEN. I think I can arrange with some of these gentlemen to cut down their time somewhat and probably can get along with five hours; but I really believe we will make time by agreeing to five hours on a side.

Mr. LEVER. I agree it is always much better to fix the time for general debate.

Mr. GILLETT. I do not think we ought to set an hour to-morrow for the closing of general debate, because then roll calls or conference reports or any unexpected thing which might come up would be taken out of the time.

Mr. LEVER. That is the point I am making. I prefer to fix so many hours for general debate.

Mr. GILLETT. Yes.

Mr. LEVER. And I suggest to the gentleman eight hours for general debate.

Mr. KITCHIN. That is practically two days.

Mr. LEVER. That is practically two days.

Mr. HAUGEN. After conferring with my colleagues, I will compromise on nine hours.

Mr. LEVER. I have compromised myself, from five hours to eight.

Mr. WALSH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LEVER. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts for a question.

Mr. WALSH. What is the reason for this apparent desire for haste on this measure? Are there any other important appropriation bills waiting for action?

Mr. KITCHIN. The diplomatic and consular appropriation bill.

Mr. LEVER. I understand the diplomatic bill is ready, and that the legislative bill is practically ready.

Mr. STAFFORD. If the gentleman will permit me, the subcommittee-framing the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation bill will not conclude their hearings for several days to come.

Mr. LEVER. Of course, the gentleman understands that it will take several days to pass this bill after we get into the consideration of it under the five-minute rule. I understand the legislative bill will be ready for consideration after the diplomatic bill.

Mr. KITCHIN. And the diplomatic bill will be ready immediately after this bill.

Mr. LEVER. I hope the gentleman will agree to the eight-hour proposition.

Mr. HAUGEN. It really can not be done. I do not think we can expedite the passage of the bill by agreeing to that.

Mr. KITCHIN. I suggest to the gentleman that it does look like we ought to get through with the general debate certainly by to-morrow night. Let us agree to conclude it to-morrow.

Mr. HAUGEN. That is all right.

Mr. WALSH. The time to be divided equally.

Mr. GILLETT. And meet at 11 o'clock to-morrow.

The SPEAKER. What is the request? Has the gentleman from South Carolina any request to make?

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, I am trying to confer with the numerous gentlemen around me here, to see what is the best request to submit. I suggest to the gentleman from Iowa that we agree to conclude the debate before the House adjourns to-morrow.

Mr. GILLETT. And meet at 11 o'clock to-morrow morning.

The SPEAKER. We have not got any unanimous consent to meet at 11 o'clock.

Mr. LEVER. I am going to make that request now.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, our Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries are having some very important hearings, and they meet at 10.30. If they come here at 11 o'clock they will have to discontinue the committee meeting. We have a very important hearing set for to-morrow morning. If you are going to consume two days in general debate, I do not think that you ought to interfere with the other business of the committees of the House.

Mr. GILLETT. I agree with the gentleman from Missouri that I would not agree to come in at 11 o'clock except for general debate.

Mr. ALEXANDER. If the general debate is illuminating, the Members of the House ought to hear it, and if it is simply bunk, you might as well cut it out. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that general debate shall continue until the House adjourns to-morrow; that the time be equally divided between the gentleman from Iowa, Mr. HAUGEN, and myself, and that when the House adjourns to-day it adjourn to meet at 11 o'clock to-morrow.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from South Carolina moves that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and pending that he asks unanimous consent that general debate end when the House adjourns to-morrow; that the House shall meet at 11 o'clock to-morrow,

and the time shall be equally divided between himself and the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HAUGEN.] Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, with Mr. CRISP in the chair.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to dispense with the first reading of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from South Carolina asks unanimous consent to dispense with the first reading of the bill. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the order of the House, the time is to be equally divided between the gentleman from South Carolina, Mr. LEVER, and the gentleman from Iowa, Mr. HAUGEN.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 20 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio, Mr. SHERWOOD.

Mr. SHERWOOD. Mr. Chairman, after listening to such a powerful, such a lucid, and such a valuable address as we heard from my distinguished colleague from Ohio, Dr. FESS, I thought that perhaps your minds might be relieved by something in a lighter vein.

At the very outset of this great world war we find ourselves short of both cavalry, artillery, and general-utility horses. And all our so-called military experts concede the absolute necessity for cavalry on the flanks of an army or to cover a retreat. In the Boer war, in South Africa, the most expensive aggressive war of conquest Great Britain ever made in a century, the lack of cavalry to fight the Boers, who were all mounted on fleet-footed ponies, cost Great Britain more lives of soldiers and more money than all the 42 wars waged during the entire eventful reign of Queen Victoria.

To-day we are seriously hampered in our war preparations for lack of horses, and that demand can not be supplied. It was claimed by most of our so-called military experts, at the time the United States entered the war, that the aeroplane would take the place of the mounted soldier; but now the demand for cavalry is universal. In a recent number of the Breeders' Gazette, one of the oldest and ablest stock-farm journals published in the United States, I find an editorial voicing the immediate demand for cavalry in order to win the war. From time immemorial it has been the swift mobilizing cavalry that has won battles in the critical crises of wavering battle lines. This was a vital lesson we learned early in the first battle of the Civil War, when a charge of the Black Horse Cavalry of Virginia put to rout a superior force of Infantry in the first Battle of Bull Run.

And in the two-years war in South Africa, England learned a severe lesson of humiliation when 7,000 Boer farmers, mounted on Boer ponies—and neither Boers nor ponies ever saw the inside of a military academy—caused the retreat across the Tugela River of 42,000 trained veterans of England, commanded by the widely renowned Gen. Buller.

And in the present world war it was the Italian Cavalry, covering the retreat of the Italian Army from the Austro-Hungarian border to the Piave River, that saved the bulk of that army and the most valuable of artillery and stores and munitions. Not only are we short of artillery but of men trained to take care of horses.

An up-to-date high-rank Army officer recently said:

The man who knows how to take care of animals in this country has become very scarce. We must provide thousands of men capable of taking care of animals and who can shoe a horse, drive a team, and adjust a pack saddle. You can not train a horseshoer in less than four months; you can teach a man to pack or drive a team in about two months. Without horseshoers, packers, and teamsters we can not have an army. The men who handle machine guns will be of little service unless they are taught to take care of mules. Without teamsters we can not have an army.

We know how all the high authority—machine-motor experts—have been indulging in big display-line prophecies of a horseless age. We remember vividly of the many predictions of the machine and chemical laboratory war prophets of a horseless war; that the experts in the bird-flying aeroplanes, dropping the awe-provoking bombs, would do the terrible work on the flanks and in the rear of a hostile army, with no further use for the cavalry horse, whose swiftness in battle is conceded to be five times the velocity of a foot soldier.

This is my excuse to-day for exploiting the horse. Our shortage of the speed horse, the saddle horse, and the general utility horse is largely due to hostile legislation against horse racing, the most alluring, recreative, and wholesome of all the outdoor sports and pastimes. Legislation that has financially ruined and driven thousands of expert breeders out of business; leg-

isolation aimed at so-called gambling on the pastime, with the inevitable result that we have inaugurated prize fighting, the most brutal and degrading of all the pastimes of the people, with the nose smashers and rib crackers of the prize ring masquerading as our theatrical stars, and gambling on ring contests and football and baseball and election contests increased tenfold. [Applause.] This is my excuse for exploiting man's best animal friend in all the avenues of life, in history, in chivalry, in the holy crusades, and on the red fields of war.

WHY GOD CREATED THE HORSE.

In the domain of the utilities, in the more esthetic field of the recreations, in poetry and song and sculpture, and on the red fields of war the horse, since creation's dawn, has been the omnipresent companion and helpmate of his master—man. Let us now scan the law of the inevitable—the natural loves and instincts of man as illustrated by all history. From the ancient Pharaoh of the Exodus to Gen. Phil Sheridan, the horse has shared the honors of war, the glamors of love, the wild witchery of chivalric tournament, and the gloom and glory of all the crusades, Christian and Mohammedan. [Applause.]

THE HORSE IN THE EARLY CRUSADES.

A thousand years before Christianity began the horse was one of the most potent deities of the weird and fascinating religion of the pagan world. The history of his achievements covers three continents and runs through 10 portentous centuries of triumphs, wars, and conquests.

As a potent missionary of the Christian religion, the horse was first conspicuous at the close of the eleventh century. At the Council of Clermont in 1095 Pope Urban II, in the spirit of religious fanaticism, called upon the church to rescue Jerusalem and recover the Holy Land. This great appeal started the holy crusades that continued over 200 years and at one time involved all western Europe.

The first crusade (1069-1099), organized by that great plebeian, Peter the Hermit, failed because they had no horses. Nearly all his soldiers were slain by the Mohammedan Turks in Asia Minor. The second crusade, organized in 1097, was led by Knights of the Holy Cross; and no soldier could be a knight who was not mounted, and he must also be a horseman, strong enough to wear steel armor and to wield a broadsword. On June 7, 1099, 20,000 of these crusaders reached the Holy City, Jerusalem. After a five weeks' siege the city was captured by a cavalry charge of the most reckless daring. Godfrey, the leader, wrote home as follows:

In Solomon's Porch and in his Temple our knights rode in the blood of the Saracens up to the knees of their horses.

The seventh and last crusade did not end until 1272, and while I am not here to say that the mounted cavalier with sword and spear was the true follower of the lowly Nazarene, the mailed knights of the Middle Ages were the avant couriers of that kind of Christian civilization that dominates all Europe to-day, and it is getting a firm grip on the United States.

In discussing the moral influence of the crusades, that eminent scholar and poetist, Daniel Coit Gilman, president of Johns Hopkins University, says:

The constant contact for two centuries with the more advanced Byzantine and Arabic culture taught the crusaders many lessons in civilization.

So much for the horse of chivalry in advancing Christian civilization in Europe.

THE HORSE IN NEW WORLD HISTORY.

In the New World the horse has been a much more potent and pervading force than in the old in the evangelization of the idol worshippers of the western continent. Hernando Cortez, the conqueror of Mexico, as an anointed Knight of the Cross, could never have subdued the fierce and warlike Aztec nation without the Spanish war horse of the sixteenth century. It may not be known that the entire force of Cortez when he successfully captured the strongly fortified City of Mexico was less than 1,000 Spanish foot soldiers and only 87 splendidly mounted knights riding powerful Spanish horses, incased in steel armor. The Aztec warriors had never before seen a horse, and they regarded him as a supernatural terror—death dealing and irresistible.

The history of the conquest of Mexico reads like an Arabian Nights' tale. Though Hernando Cortez had only a few hundred men, in two weeks after entering the capital of the warlike and powerful Aztec empire he captured the holy sovereign, Montezuma, and took possession of the Aztec treasury, valued at six and a half million dollars, and all of Montezuma's ministers.

And what Hernando Cortez and his cavaliers did to the Aztecs of Mexico a still more daring knight and horseman,

Francisco Pizarro, did to the prehistoric Incas of Peru in 1535; and he did it with his knights on horseback in armor of steel.

THE HORSE IN SACRED HISTORY.

In all religions the horse has ever been an omnipresent factor. The fascinating mythology of the Greeks, a race, in their prime, foremost in art and civilization, is full of the horse.

The Mohammedan religion is also toned by the horse. Borak was the milk-white horse that had the wings of an eagle and a human face. He carried the prophet Mohammed from earth to the seventh Heaven. And the seventh Heaven, in the Mohammedan religion, is the dizziest parlor in the top mansion of the blissful skies. The name is Arabic, meaning the lightning.

Haizun was one of the horses of the archangel Gabriel. Read the Koran and you will see. Hrimfaxi is the horse of night, from whose bit fall the "rime drops," which every night bedew the earth. This is found in Scandinavian mythology.

If you will look to Revelation you will see that it is the pale horse upon which death rides, and as death ends all in this world I will here end my story of the horse as a Christian missionary, with a cheerful remembrance from the Old Testament prophet, Elijah—second book of Kings:

And it came to pass, as they still went on and talked, that, behold, there appeared a chariot of fire and horses of fire and parted them both asunder, and Elijah went up by a whirlwind into Heaven.

It is evident without the horses Elijah would never have reached that lofty altitude. [Laughter and applause.]

THE HORSE IN CHIVALRY.

Chivalry derives its name from the French word "cheval," a horse, and the word "knight," which originally meant boy, was subsequently applied to the boy when he was able to mount and successfully manage a horse. In the so-called age of chivalry the mounted knight was in war at the service of his sovereign or chief, and in peace he graced the court as the gallant of the ladies in the castle, where he shared the banquets and participated in the jousts and tournaments with which the bravest of the brave cheered their leisure.

TOURNAMENTS ORIGINATED IN FRANCE.

The tournaments of the knights on horseback, in steel-clad armor, originated in France. They were organized to kill time in times of peace, and against the protest of the clergy. Afterwards and during the so-called holy crusades—in the battles of the centuries—of the cavaliers of the Cross, against the legions of Mohammed, the clergy indorsed and encouraged the crusaders.

HOW CHIVALRY HUMANIZED WAR.

The age of chivalry was an age of fierce adventures and long and bloody wars, in which the horse was the chief factor; but it humanized war, inaugurated knightly honor, and did much to eliminate the brutal instincts which before had found vent in the butchery or slavery of soldiers captured in battle. Knightly honor, the growth of chivalry, forbade a knight to kill another knight when he was unhorsed or had dropped his lance or called for mercy. Chivalry also did much to elevate woman to her true place as the equal companion of man. And it was distinctly forbidden in all the jousts and tournaments where knights fought on horseback to even wound a horse. In fact, the horse was the true badge of a knight. No villain or serf was ever allowed to ride on horseback or carry a lance. The horse in the chivalric age did for knightly conduct what the horse of pagan civilization did toward humanizing the Romans. When Nero sat above Rome Christian martyrs were taken to the arena to be devoured by wild beasts, caught in the German forests, in the applauding presence of the Roman populace. Later, under the Emperor Augustus, under a gentler and more benign civilization, the chariot races, in which the horse was the main factor, supplanted the brutal bouts in the bloody arena. And in the age of chivalry the horse did for Christian civilization what the chariot races did in Rome for pagan civilization. He made mankind better and more humane.

WHAT CHIVALRY HAS DONE FOR LITERATURE.

The history and traditions of the age of chivalry have enriched all modern poetry and literature. The history of chivalry is a rich storehouse of poetic material that all our modern poets have used generously to glamour and allure both fiction and poetry. Spencer, Sir Walter Scott, Longfellow, and Tennyson have drawn plots, romances, and poems liberally from chivalry, but none so successfully as Lord Byron and Washington Irving. Next to Waterloo, Byron's most thrilling dramatic poem is "Mazeppa," in which the wild horse of the Ukraine is the leading factor of the poem. Few students of English literature know that Mazeppa, lashed naked to the back of a wild horse, was a real historical character and not a fictitious hero born in the brain of the great poet. "Mazeppa," the poem, was drawn almost literally from history. Mazeppa was a knight of chivalry.

He was born in 1645 and had a knightly pedigree, standard through both sire and dam.

THE MODERN POETS EXPLOITED HORSE HEROICS.

All the poets of modern times put horses under their heroes. King Richard III, according to Shakespeare, offered his whole kingdom for a horse after his game steed fell dead on the bloody battle field of Bosworth. He could not get another horse on his offer, and thereby lost the battle and the crown, and the blood of Plantagenet was dried up forever, and the blood of Tudor came in to rule England, all for lack of a horse.

All the standard English poets were horse fanciers. Sir Walter Scott, in immortal *Marmion*, puts into Lady Heron's sweet mouth the story of "Young Lochinvar," one of the most thrilling musical gems in the English language. And young Lochinvar's horse is the supreme factor of the escapade. You remember when young Lochinvar stole away the bride that was about to wed "a laggard in love and a dastard in war" he caught her on the home stretch, and throwing her willing form behind his own, astride his prancing steed, while two pair of chivalric legs were thrilling the throbbing ribs of his game flier, the lads and lassies of the laggard bridegroom had no steeds fleet enough to follow, and young Lochinvar got away with everything. [Laughter.]

Even Tennyson, late poet laureate of England, with all his finical, fine ladyisms of versification, occasionally braces up into the robust heroic when he mounts the English thoroughbred. He does this in "Locksley Hall," but his best effort by far is "The Charge of the Light Brigade." But Tennyson is hardly in the same class with Sir Walter Scott. In all the minstrelsy of Scott the horse always comes in to gild the heroics, whether he sings of love or war.

And the finest dramatic poem of our great Civil War is "Sheridan's Ride," written by our Ohio poet, T. Buchanan Read, in which the horse is the hero, because without that game flier Sheridan could never have turned defeat into victory in that immortal 20-mile ride from Winchester to Cedar Creek. Have you ever stopped to think what would have become of our Army that critical day had Sheridan attempted that perilous ride in an automobile with a busted tire. [Laughter.] Could he have inspired the boys with courage anew sitting in a pulseless machine, even without a busted tire, instead of the black charger, that with foam on his flanks and nostrils red as blood and eyes flashing fire carried the courage of his great master into the hearts of the musketeers.

THE TROUBADOURS AND THE HORSE.

In the songs of the troubadours the horse is everywhere sung. Many of these songs were written by women. The troubadours were the offspring of chivalry. They first appeared in France in the eleventh century and sung their last lyric poetry in Spain in the fourteenth. The troubadours composed and sang songs, and one of the accomplishments was to play the harp or make melody of the feline intestines over the bridge of a guitar. They were the inventors of lyric poetry, devoted entirely to sentimentalism. They were often mounted when attached to courts of princes and nobles, and they sang praises to the gallantry of knights, and often indulged in rustic rhymes on the degeneracy of the clergy. Our own Washington Irving won his greatest fame in fiction imbibing the lyric songs and romances and wild witching tales of the Moslem Moors. Lyrics once sung in the subtle moonlight to the black-eyed daughters of Andalusia, who danced in the orange groves of the Gaudalquivir in the heroic age of Moorish chivalry. [Applause.]

None of the historians are able to tell when the domesticated horse was first ridden by barbarous man, as he is now ridden to death by the soldiers of Europe in the pending war.

The ancient Egyptians, the Assyrians, and the Hittites all used the horse to war chariots, and later the Etruscans and Greeks in chariot races and triumphal processions. Neither did the ancient Egyptians ride horses. We first meet with a notice that the horse was ridden among the Greeks of the Homeric period. Just when Homer lived and loved and sung no one knows, but Herodotus, the oldest of the Greek historians, places Homer's fitful days on earth as 400 years preceding his own, and we read that Herodotus was cavorting around the ancient cities of Memphis, Heliopolis, Athens, and Babylon about 430 years before Christ. There were no metropolitan daily papers or horse papers in those desperately wicked old times in Babylon, and it is nowhere recorded how Herodotus was mounted, or whether he was mounted at all.

THE HORSE IN MYTHOLOGY.

Scandinavian history is full of the horse and so is Scandinavian mythology. Abakur, the favorite war horse of King Sunna, was so called because the word Abakur means in the Scandinavian language "A hot one." Hence the term "hot

stuff," as applied to-day to an extreme speed trotter, may be a term of Scandinavian origin.

Arion, which is the Greek for war horse, was also a flier. He was the horse of the giant Hercules, given to Adrastus. He ran with incredible swiftness, and this is why the Greeks deified him.

And the fascinating and picturesque and mysterious religion of ancient Hindustan is full of reference to the horse. The marvelous prophet Buddha was the greatest horseman of his time. His favorite horse was Kantaka, a pure white stallion, that is thus described in the "Sacred Books of the East." "A gallant steed, white as the foam of the sea, full maned and flowing tail. Head like the king of parrots, belly like the deer, breath like the dragons, wide forehead, claw-shaped nostrils, and eyes like the gazelle."

After the lapse of over 25 centuries Buddhism still stands first among the four great religions in the number of its devotees.

Our Aryan ancestors on the plains of India sang the Vedic hymns even before the epics of Homer, celebrating the horsemanship of the Greeks and Trojans, before they were voiced by human speech. The Vedic gods are thus sung: "Riding in chariots, charged with lightning, resounding with beautiful songs, and winged with horses."

Ancient Rome was also aglow with the war horse, even back to the dimmest of her early days. Incitatus was the favorite war horse of the cruel Roman Emperor Caligula. He made him both priest and consul, and he had an ivory manger and drank wine (as did priest and consul) out of a golden pail. The word Incitatus, in stately Latin, stands for "Spurred on." Evidently he had speed.

Celer, the favorite horse of the Roman Emperor Verus, was fed on almonds and raisins and covered with royal purple and given a marble box stall in the imperial palace. Bucephalus, the favorite horse of Alexander the Great, would allow no one to mount him but his royal master, and to him he would always kneel. Alexander built a city for his mausoleum, which he named Bucephala in his honor.

Flying Pegasus was one of the most brilliant of the Greek gods. Pegasus is represented as a winged horse that was always fed and watered by nymphs at springs and fountains. He was the genius of poetic song and always appeared to the Greek poets as the inspiration of the dizziest poetic effort. It was the beautiful goddess Eos or Aurora, the personification of the morning dawn, "who shot the Orient through with gold," called by Milton the "rosy-fingered morn," that rode the winged horse Pegasus. She rode him in the rosy blush of morn from the earth to high Olympus, the home of all the gods.

We learn that the god Neptune controlled all the waters of the great ocean (the Mediterranean sea being the only ocean the Greeks knew) and that he created the horse. Homer in his *Iliad* sings of Neptune thus: "He yokes the chariot his swift steeds, with feet of brass and manes of gold, and himself (Neptune), clad in gold, drives over the waves."

Prof. Murray's Manual of Mythology, speaking of Neptune and his sea horses, says: "The sea rejoices and makes way for him. His horses speed lightly over the waves and never a drop of water touches the brazen axle."

This seems like an improbable horse story, but no more improbable than "Billy" Sunday's statement that he has driven the devil out of Washington. [Laughter and applause.]

THE HORSE IN THE RECREATIONS.

For nearly half a century nearly all our preachers with a few notable exceptions, Rev. Henry Ward Beecher and Rev. T. Dewitt Talmage, have been denouncing horse racing as immoral and have been largely instrumental in putting this wholesome and recreative pastime under the ban of hostile legislation.

A very eloquent Chicago preacher, good intentioned and on the right track in denouncing an extravagant champagne supper of the "400" after the horse show, charges the horse show with the dissolute innovation. Here is where the learned divine is unlearned. The banquet after the horse show is not new, neither is there anything particularly new in the horse show. The modern horse show is a very old love that has come back in different guise and environment. And the afterfeast of the so-called swell set, with the effervescent spirit in the champagne, is not new. Over 20 centuries ago in Rome, after the victorious charioteers had put away their billhooks, the Roman senators and consuls and captains of the Pretorian guards, who had won coin on the races, stamped with the phiz of Caesar, adjourned to the room Apollo, where feasts were spread more lavishly than any dilettant midnight supper of our "400" after the horse show. Lucullus, a Roman consul, not half as well fixed as either the Morgans or Armours, or even Thomas W. Lawson, gave a wine supper to the conquering soldier Caesar

and the more pompous Pompey, in which the brains of 100 peacocks and 500 nightingales were served as a delicacy in the room Apollo, and his wine bill alone was \$6,500. If our Chicago preacher has said that human nature has changed but little since the pagan world of 2,000 years ago, so far as the habits and tastes of notable men are concerned, he would have come nearer to the bull's-eye. [Laughter.]

MOST FAMOUS WAR HORSES.

The Assyrian sculptures are the most ancient and are estimated to date some 4,200 years before Christ. And these sculptures contain more representatives of horses, caparisoned and equipped to ride than of men.

THE FIRST VERIFIED WAR HORSE.

The first real horse that is fully verified as a war horse, or a horse of the heroics, is Bucephalus, the favorite war horse of Alexander the Great, who was born 325 years before Christ. Evidently the Macedonians were breeding horses for quality, as Plutarch, one of the earliest of reliable historians, says that Bucephalus was offered to King Philip, the father of Alexander the Great for 13 talents, or \$12,500. It is not my purpose to mention any of the famous war horses of the pagan world, except to note the fact that Bucephalus was the first war horse of heroic quality to get into current history.

THE HERO HORSES OF MODERN WARS.

Let us now skip 2,000 years of man's constant warring, including the so-called age of chivalry, and start our brief story of the horse heroics with the dying years of the eighteenth century.

If I should name six of the most famous hero horses of the nineteenth century, I would mention Marengo, the favorite war horse of Napoleon; Copenhagen, the favorite of the Duke of Wellington; Cincinnati, the famous war horse of Gen. Grant; Traveller, the noted war horse of Gen. Robert E. Lee; Lexington, the horse Gen. Sherman rode on the Atlanta campaign; and Winchester, the game and fleet black stallion that carried Gen. Phil Sheridan from Winchester to Cedar Creek, 20 miles, that gray October morning in 1864. Winchester has the unique distinction of a continental commemoration in a dramatic war poem, and the further distinction of having his master for a biographer.

George Washington was a tried and capable soldier in the old French war, so-called, of 1755, fighting on the side of England. When Washington, then a young colonel, accompanied the English commanding general, Braddock, in the old French war, he took with him three magnificent horses—English-bred hunters—from his Virginia estate. One of these horses, a dark-gray stallion, named Greenway. In a fierce battle fought July 9, 1755, Gen. Braddock was killed and his army defeated. Col. Washington was his aid-de-camp. Braddock lost five horses shot under him, a world's record, as I believe, and Col. Washington had two shot under him. Writing of the battle nine days later, at Fort Cumberland, to his brother John, Washington says:

I have been protected by Providence beyond all expectation. I had four bullets through my coat and two horses shot under me, and yet escaped unhurt.

When Gen. Washington left Virginia, June 30, 1775, to take command of the Continental Armies, then at Cambridge, Mass., he took with him five horses of his own breeding. His favorite was a magnificent bay stallion, 16 hands high. When Gen. Washington made his first appearance at Cambridge mounted on this magnificent horse, he enthused and charmed not only the Army but the motley throng of revolutionary patriots gathered there to greet for the first time the hero of the epoch.

Before the close of the war Washington acquired by gift and purchase seven other war horses. Fairfax was the name of the horse that Washington rode the day he took command of the Army. At the Battle of Trenton Fairfax was so badly wounded that Washington had to abandon him. At the Battle of Monmouth, June 28, 1778, Washington rode a white horse—Blue Skin—presented him by Gov. Livingston, of New Jersey. The day was excessively hot, and the heat and terrors of the fight killed Blue Skin. Washington then rode to the end of the fight that day a magnificent chestnut mare with flaxen mane and tail, called Dolly—rather a tame name for a battle hero. Another of Washington's favorite war horses was a light-colored sorrel, 16 hands, with a white face and four white legs. This stallion was a gift from Gov. Nelson, of Virginia, and Washington named him Nelson in honor of the donor. This horse lived to the end of the war, and Gen. Washington rode him on the day of the final surrender of Lord Cornwallis, October 19, 1781. [Applause.]

After the war Nelson led a life of ease at Mount Vernon. He survived his immortal master and died at the remarkable age of 36 years. Thomas Jefferson often said that Washington was the greatest horseman of his time. [Applause.]

THE WAR HORSES OF NAPOLEON.

Probably the most famous war horse of the nineteenth century was Napoleon's Marengo. And horse lovers will wonder why it is that in all the many hundred biographies that have been written—in six languages—of the greatest empire builder of modern times so little has been said of the famous horses that carried him to victory in so many great battles.

We have the authority of Louis Napoleon, who said at Chiselhurst in 1872 that Marengo was the favorite horse of this great captain of the French. He was an Arab stallion captured from a Mameluke chief during Napoleon's Egyptian campaign. Marengo was about 15½ hands high, of very high style, and almost white. He was seven times wounded in battle. Napoleon rode him last at Waterloo, where Marengo was shot in the left hip. He, too, like Nelson, survived his royal master and died at the age of 36 years. Napoleon rode Marengo in the following great battles: Marengo, Austerlitz, Jena, Wagram, in the disastrous Russian campaign, and at Waterloo. Another war horse of Napoleon was an Arab stallion named Ali. On the downfall of Napoleon a French gentleman purchased Marengo and another well-tried war horse of Napoleon, named Jaffa, and transferred them to his estate in England.

On the 16th of May, 1797, Napoleon rode his famous war horse Marengo to the top of the bell tower of St. Mark's Cathedral, Venice, that he might signal to his fleet in the bay that the proud Queen of the Adriatic Sea had surrendered. This bell tower is 333 feet high, 45 feet higher than the lantern above the great central dome of our National Capitol. With the exception of the fiery chariot horse that Elijah rode up to heaven, this is the most remarkable feat of dizzy-headed horsemanship ever recorded in either sacred or profane history. [Laughter.] Napoleon had 19 horses shot under him—the world's record.

Another famous horse that has been preserved true to life form is the war horse Stonewall Jackson rode the day of his tragic death. This horse is now the central attraction of the relic room of the Confederate Soldiers' Home in Richmond, Va.

THE FAMOUS WAR HORSE OF THE IRON DUKE.

Copenhagen won his fame as the horse the Duke of Wellington rode at the decisive battle of Waterloo—a battle that ended the conquering career of Napoleon and gave enduring fame to the Duke of Wellington. Copenhagen has inspired more animal hero worship than any horse in all history, ancient or modern. Copenhagen was a powerful chestnut stallion, 16 hands high, an English thoroughbred, a grandson of the famous English race horse Eclipse. The Duke of Wellington bought him in 1813, paying 400 guineas for him, or \$2,000. His magnificent form, style, and high quality is indicated by this price.

At 4 o'clock June 18, 1815, the day the great duke and Copenhagen won immortal fame, Wellington mounted Copenhagen and was in the saddle continuously for 18 hours. And when the day was done and the duke had held his historic interview with the Prussian Field Marshal Blücher, the duke dismounted and turned Copenhagen over to his orderly.

It will be remembered that the English Government presented the Iron Duke with a splendid estate for his good day's work at Waterloo.

The Iron Duke's last act before leaving Strathfield, a few days before Copenhagen's death, was to walk out to his paddock and pet the great war horse who carried him to immortality at Waterloo. The Iron Duke's eldest son, known as the second Duke of Wellington, erected two monuments, one to the duke and the other to Copenhagen, both of Italian marble. The monument to Copenhagen stands under the shadow of a large Turkish oak on the estate presented the duke, where the famous horse was buried, with this inscription:

Here lies Copenhagen, the charger ridden by the Duke of Wellington the entire day at the Battle of Waterloo. Born 1808, died 1835.

During the Civil War I saw nearly all the commanding generals of the Army of Ohio, the Army of the Cumberland, the Army of the Tennessee under fire. I saw Gen. Hooker several times under fire, once at Resaca. I saw him in the full uniform of a major general, yellow sash and all the plumes, riding at the extreme front, almost abreast of our advance skirmish line. He was mounted on a powerful high-headed bay stallion, red nostrilled and furious, the most daring and inspiring figure I ever saw on a battle field.

GEN. JOHN A. LOGAN

Was the incarnation of vital energy and reckless courage. I saw him ride to the front at Atlanta and rally the staggering battalions, after the death of Gen. McPherson, in that fierce conflict of the 22d of July. Logan rode that day his famous war horse, Black Jack, a coal-black horse that he rode in many battles. Black Jack was poisoned by the political enemies of Gen.

Logan, in southern Illinois, after the war, during a heated campaign. They fed Black Jack a pound of ground glass.

I saw Gen. McPherson as he rode to his death at Atlanta. Next to Gen. Joe Hooker, he was considered the finest mounted officer of our Army. I saw him often under fire during the Atlanta campaign, always splendidly mounted.

I saw Gen. Sherman under fire at Atlanta and at Kenesaw Mountain. His favorite horse was Lexington, presented to him by admiring friends when he commanded the Department of Kentucky. Gen. Sherman was never an impressive figure on horseback. As he rode through our lines on the march in the Atlanta campaign, sometimes at midday and sometimes in the midnight march, he always rode with bowed head in fatigue uniform.

GEN. JAMES B. STEEDMAN.

The first distinguished soldier I ever saw under fire was Gen. James B. Steedman, then colonel of the Fourteenth Ohio Volunteer Infantry, in the battle of Philippi, the first battle of the Civil War. He won his twin stars in the fiercest part of the Chickamauga battle field and at the most critical period of the conflict. It was here that Gen. Steedman snatched the flag of the One hundred and fifteenth Illinois from the hands of the color sergeant, when the regiment was in retreat, ordered the "About, face," and "Follow your general." The regiment obeyed, and Steedman spurred his war horse up the death-swept slope, carrying the flag. A few leaps into the hell of fire and the horse was shot dead and Gen. Steedman was thrown violently far over his head and severely stunned. But he was too game to leave the field. The horse he rode at Chickamauga was a magnificent bay gelding of commanding style, over 16 hands high. He was captured at Mill Springs in the battle in which Confederate Gen. Zollicoffer was killed. Hence this horse that died the hero's death at Chickamauga fought on both sides of the conflict.

GEN. PHIL SHERIDAN.

Gen. Sheridan's ride and rally of the retreating army at Cedar Creek does not rank in importance with Gen. Steedman's forced march and saving service to the Army of the Cumberland at Chickamauga, but Steedman had no poet and Sheridan had one inspired. The greatest dramatic poem of the war, written by that Ohio poet, T. Buchanan Read, could never have been inspired except for the fleet stallion that carried Gen. Phil Sheridan from Winchester to Cedar Creek that gray October morning in 1864. He rode a coal black stallion, over 16 hands high, three-quarters thoroughbred. After the battle he was named "Winchester." Before the battle he was called "Rienzi."

GEN. GEORGE A. CUSTER.

Gen. Custer, mounted, was an inspiration. He was a devotee of the horse and was always talking about his war horses. From the time he left West Point to join the Army, in the Civil War, until the close of his eventful life in June, 1876, in the Little Big Horn Valley, his daily life was largely on horseback. Probably the man never lived whose endurance in the saddle was greater than his. The favorite war horse of Gen. Custer was a brown horse called "Dandy." He was 15½ hands, a compact, muscular horse, fine head and neck. He marched in the ranks of Custer's little army of daring troopers on June 25, 1876, against the confederated Sioux Tribes, that terrible day of the massacre of Custer and his men, in the valley of the Little Big Horn, and was shot through the shoulder. The only horse that survived this savage carnival of death was Comanche, and he was seven times wounded and left to die by the Indians. He was found afterwards by our soldiers seven miles from the battle field and was removed to Fort Reilly, Kans., where he recovered and was adopted by the United States Government. No one was ever permitted to mount him.

GEN. U. S. GRANT.

I first saw Gen. Grant mounted near Raleigh, N. C., at the grand review of Sherman's army, after the final surrender of all the armies of the Confederacy. Gen. Grant was never a showy soldier on horseback, like Hooker, McPherson, or Custer. He was too short bodied, square shouldered, and short necked to make a picturesque figure on horseback. His most famous war horse was Cincinnati, presented to him by some of his admiring Ohio friends at Cincinnati previous to his taking command of the Army of the Potomac. Neither was Grant a theme for the song poets of the war, like Sheridan and the yellow-haired Custer, or Gen. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, or Albert Sidney Johnson, of the Confederates.

GEN. PAT CLEBURNE.

The two Confederate generals that I saw nearest in both life and in death I saw in that desperate charge at Franklin, November 30, 1864. These two were Gen. Pat Cleburne and Gen. John Adams. Gen. Cleburne was the most dashing division

commander of Hood's army. Gen. Adams and his horse fell at the left front of my command and Gen. Cleburne a few yards to the left. My mount, a crow-black mare of high mettle—Firefly—that I had ridden in 20 battles, was shot about the time that Cleburne fell. She reared high in the air and fell with a stunning thud. But I was young and spry then and was up again in time to be at the culmination of the charge—the awful clash of hostile bayonets in that ghastly carnival of blood.

I have corresponded with a number of ex-Confederate soldiers, including Capt. Sykes, of Aberdeen, Miss., who served on Gen. Cleburne's staff at Franklin, but can get no information of his war horses.

I have also some lurid and enduring battle memories of Gens. "Pap" Thomas, Burnside, Stanley, Schofield, O. O. Howard, A. J. Smith, Rosecrans, Slocum, McCook, Butterfield, Stoneman, Couch, Opdyke, Hobson, Cox, and many others.

It is worthy of mention that the city of San Antonio, Tex., presented Gen. Pershing with a magnificent saddle horse when he left to take command of all our armies. Gen. Pershing, mounted on this horse in Paris, created the wildest enthusiasm, and the city of Paris presented Gen. Pershing with the finest war horse (French bred) that money could buy. It was largely due to these two magnificent thoroughbreds that Gen. Pershing was made the popular idol of the French Republic.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Ohio has expired.

Mr. BRUMBAUGH. Mr. Chairman, this is one of the most interesting addresses I ever listened to, and I ask that the gentleman be permitted to conclude his remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. By direction of the House, the time is in the control of the gentleman from South Carolina and the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. LEVER. I regret, Mr. Chairman, that the pressure for time is such that I can yield the gentleman but five minutes more.

THE HORSE IN THE HEROICS.

Mr. SHERWOOD. From time immemorial the horse has been immortalized with his immortal master. He has been perpetuated in stone and iron and bronze with the poets, philosophers, and soldiers of the world.

In Berlin it is Frederick the Great and his horse.

In Trafalgar Square, London, it is Lord Wellington and his horse.

In Paris it is Napoleon and his horse.

In our National Capital it is Grant and his horse, Jackson and his horse, Sherman and his horse, Gen. Logan and his horse, and glorious old "Pap" Thomas and his horse. In Richmond it is Washington and his horse, Robert E. Lee and his horse, and Stonewall Jackson and his horse.

On the obelisks of dead old Egypt, on the Arch of Trajan at Rome, and the arch of triumph that Napoleon built in Paris to celebrate his victories, the horse and his hero rider are multiplied on every ascending circle.

The Old Testament prophetess Miriam, taking her timbrels to swell the song of triumph which Moses gave to the poetry of the ages, in celebrating the drowning of Pharaoh and his cavalry in the Red Sea, says:

Sing ye to the Lord, for He hath triumphed gloriously. The horse and his rider He hath thrown into the sea.

You will notice that the inspired prophetess gives the horse first mention over the soldier, doubtless on his merits, as the more humane of the two.

Darwin does not tell us in his great work on the evolution of the human race the number of years which elapsed between the development of the man-like ape and the ape-like man, but since history was born in the womb of the dead centuries, we know that the horse with hoofs has been coexistent with the devil with hoofs. Prof. Leidy, very high authority, says, "The prehistoric man had a prehistoric horse for a companion." We have the same high authority for the statement that the horse in a wild state existed on this continent long before Columbus discovered America. Probably the prehistoric man and the prehistoric horse were cavorting over the hills and through the valleys of the American Continent long before Adam and Eve were browsing the apple blossoms in the Garden of Eden. [Laughter and applause.]

The trend of all Christian civilization from the Pharaoh of the Exodus to Gen. Phil Sheridan is to paint the horse in the heroics. In the glamors of war, in the wild witchery of chivalric missions to Jerusalem, amid the gloom and glory of the holy crusades, in the conquests of Mexico and Peru, and in all our modern wars the horse is everywhere a potent and puissant factor. And in the peopling and advancement of the United States, before the advent of steam and electric motors, the horse has ever been recognized as man's greatest helpmate.

Nowhere is the horse of the heroics more conspicuous than in sculpture. Sculpture beats history and is more potent than books, which only speak language. Some 20 languages have passed into the grave along with dead nations, while the monuments and statues and tombs built by these dead nations still stand. The Roman Empire is dead and the Roman race has died out of Italy, but the heroic statue of Caesar mounted on his war horse crossing the Rubicon still stands. The Latin language is dead, but the arch of Trajan and his horse still stands. Napoleon is dead and his empire is dead, but the arch of triumph that the great Corsican built in Paris to celebrate his victories, with the horse and his hero rider multiplied on every ascending circle, still stands. The ancient city of Moscow, once the templed capital of the Russian Empire, has its most forceful reminder of its past in the heroic statue of Peter the Great and his horse.

Old Egypt, when in the golden age of her best civilization, was devoted to the horse. Her pyramids, which are still standing, ages after her civilization has perished, are silent witnesses that the early Egyptians were patrons of man's best animal friend.

And China, whose history, both heroic and mythologic, outdates all the civilization around the world, once held the horse sacred above all the other animals. The Chinese account of the creation of the world beats all the world's records. The sacred books of Confucius claim that 2,267,000 years elapsed between the time when the powers of heaven and earth united to produce a man, and, of course, that man was a Chinaman.

Prof. Starr, of the Chicago University, in his valuable book entitled "First Steps in Human Progress," discusses in a cursory way early Arabic civilization. He says in his book that as far back as Egyptian records go we find the horse in use, and in China are records of his presence and use as a tamed animal for thousands of years.

The biological student of the real human essence calls health the full and free manifestation of life. The life that is worth living is the life that is full of vigorous, healthy enjoyment. Of all the games to amuse and entertain, the horse furnishes the most recreative and the most morally wholesome. Our mental and physical lives are indissolubly linked together.

Some men imagine themselves moral reformers when they are only solemn and morose from a torpid liver. A torpid liver may promote indigestion, but never a high moral inspiration. [Laughter.]

We shall always have machine motors, as we have wax flowers and crockery dolls and paste diamonds. But wax flowers will never shed fragrance on the bosom of a divine woman like the God-blown blossoms, and crockery dolls will never take the place of real babies; neither will the counterfeit blaze of paste diamonds ever mock successfully the brilliant rainbow tints of the real gems. And the live horse, the horse of history and poetry and sculpture and the heroics, will ever remain man's best and most wholesome animal friend. The horse stands for good health, for life that is full of life, for pure air and sunshine; and let no lean-headed, crimped-mouth clacquer masquerading as a teacher of grim gloom stand between us and the sun. In all countries and in all ages the horse is inseparably associated with human history and development. No other animal has such omnipresence and no other animal has ever exerted such a potent force in the evolution of the human race. Sculpture is radiant and glowing with monuments and arches and frescoes commemorating heroes, poets, prophets, and great generals who were devotees of this most alluring and beneficent of all God's best gifts to mankind.

The best and widest field for reformers to-day is to aid in the repeal of all restrictive laws that are dead and have never been enforced and to help us learn the lesson that all history teaches—that you can not legislate virtue in the hearts of men. The only way to inculcate virtue is to have the teachers practice it. A boy is like a calf. When he gets full of the milk of human kindness he wants to kick up and play and give vent to the life that is in him; and the man is only the developed boy. Some men are never developed. [Laughter.]

The bicycle, that was a crazy-headed fad 25 years ago as a recreative motor, left us a heritage of some six distinct nervous and spinal diseases, with no counter benefits; and the auto, more useful, more recreative, more alluring, killed more human beings last year than the horse in a century.

I am not here to exploit the war horse exclusively, but the horse of the recreations, the horse of peace, the horse that carries his master in the exhilaration of the wind, along pleasant valleys, by running brooks, and meadows green with verdure, by woods vocal with the song of birds, to make him forget his nervous worry over business cares and catch an appetite and the serene joy that awaits good digestion and a conscience devoid of guile. I still hope that the live horse will ever be

the most wholesome recreative factor for the live man; and he is only good when alive, not, like the miser or the pig—no good to the world until after death. [Applause.]

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

The committee informally rose; and Mr. RUBEY having taken the chair as Speaker pro tempore, a message from the Senate, by Mr. Young, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment the following resolution:

House concurrent resolution 34.

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That in the enrollment of the bill (H. R. 195) entitled "An act providing for the sale of coal and asphalt deposits in the segregated mineral lands in the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations, Okla.," the Clerk be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to strike out the word "applied," on page 5, line 13, and insert in lieu thereof the word "apply."

The message also announced that the Senate had insisted upon its amendments to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 174) for the purpose of promoting efficiency for the utilization of the resources and industries of the United States for lessening the expenses of war by providing for the employment of a discovery or invention called the "Garabed," claiming to make possible the utilization of free energy, disagreed to by the House of Representatives, had agreed to the conference asked by the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and had appointed Mr. JAMES, Mr. GORE, and Mr. BRANDEGEE as the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the President had approved and signed bill and joint resolution of the following titles:

On January 18, 1918:

S. 3235. An act amending section 32, Federal farm-loan act, approved July 17, 1916.

On January 12, 1918:

S. J. Res. 106. Joint resolution extending until January 1, 1919, the effective date of section 10 of the act entitled "An act to supplement existing laws against unlawful restraints and monopolies, and for other purposes," approved October 15, 1914.

AGRICULTURAL APPROPRIATION BILL.

The committee resumed its session.

Mr. HAUGEN. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. SIEGEL] three minutes.

Mr. SIEGEL. Mr. Chairman, in my time I ask to have the Clerk read the following newspaper article.

The Clerk read as follows:

REASSURE ITALIANS—REPRESENTATIVE LAGUARDIA SAYS WILSON'S PEACE AIMS ARE THEIRS.

Rome, January 18 (delayed).

The latest Wilson message is still a topic of discussion in the press as well as in political circles. Representative LaGuardia, of New York, who is in Europe on military service, and was present at the recent capitol demonstration in honor of America, said to the New York Times correspondent:

"I consider the President's message a great document. It is clear, concise, and to the point. It must be read in connection with his war message of April 2, 1917. From these two documents the purpose of our entering the war, our unselfish motives, our determination to bring about justice to all concerned while asking nothing for ourselves, is established forever. It was favorably received in France, and had the effect of reassuring and inspiring confidence in the French people."

"Yes; I have read the editorials in the Italian papers. I was greatly surprised that doubt should be expressed as to its true meaning in reference to Italian aspirations and interests. It is true that some papers even expressed dissatisfaction. I am certain, however, that this was the result of a hasty reading of the message, without due consideration of the past utterances of the President, on which he based his peace terms."

"There can be no doubt in the mind of anyone who is aware of the President's accurate knowledge of local conditions in the Adriatic and the general understanding in the United States of the lot of the nationalities in the unredeemed Provinces, that when the President refers to lines of clearly recognizable nationality he means that the unredeemed Provinces of Trent, Trieste, and Istra must be restored to Italy just as much as Alsace-Lorraine to France. If Italians are doubtful as to the meaning of this point, or if there is doubt as to the nationality of the territories which they covet, then they are seeking aggrandizement to which they are not entitled and which will not be in the interest of their future welfare. But every American knows just what the unredeemed Provinces are by tradition, language, and history, and that we in the United States will not consider our mission fulfilled unless they are restored."

"That I take to be the intent of the President's words, and that I shall endeavor to make clear to the Italian people."

Mr. HAUGEN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 20 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT].

Mr. LENROOT. Mr. Chairman, this day will go down into history, probably, as very important. It is perhaps a little too early to determine whether its importance will rest upon the speech just made by the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HEFLIN] or the speech that has been made at the other end of this Capitol. It is rather unfortunate for the gentleman from Alabama that during his speech the press gallery was entirely empty. If it had not been for that fact probably the gentleman at the other end of the Capitol would have received a line and the gentleman from Alabama's speech would have covered the front page of all the papers in the country.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LENROOT. Yes.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Did the gentleman look to see whether the press gallery was full when the gentleman from Alabama began?

Mr. LENROOT. I was not here when the gentleman from Alabama began his speech. The gentleman from Alabama made a patriotic speech, although there was nothing new or important in it. He did make one statement that we can all indorse, irrespective of party. He said that when we sent our boys to the trenches they were not asked whether they were Republicans or Democrats. That is true. The only place that that question is asked in the carrying on of this war is in the civil appointments made by the executive branch of this Government. [Applause on the Republican side.] But, Mr. Chairman, it was not my purpose in asking for this time to discuss any of these questions, but I want to take the time that is allotted to me in the discussion of a very nonpartisan question and to a very large extent a local question pertaining to the bill that is now before us, making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture.

Mr. Chairman, one of the most important problems before the country to-day is the increase of food production and of wool. A very large proportion of the appropriations made in this bill is for that purpose, but most of the millions we are spending through the Department of Agriculture are for increasing production upon farms already developed. We have done very little toward assisting in developing fertile lands now lying idle. In fact, outside of the money we are spending in reclamation of public lands and surveying and classifying public lands open to homestead entry we are doing practically nothing. It ought to be a matter of national concern that every acre of arable land should be utilized for production. It is my purpose to-day to speak of the undeveloped lands of northern Wisconsin and the upper peninsula of Michigan, the opportunities there for the settler, the sheepmen, and the stockmen, discuss the character of these lands, the reason why they are undeveloped, and what is needed to bring them into the class of productive lands.

Northern Wisconsin and upper Michigan were for the most part originally covered with dense forests. Lumbering was the chief occupation. Little thought was given to the agricultural possibilities of the land. Roads that were passable in the summer were few, schools and churches were far between. The result was that for many years after the timber was removed this territory was known chiefly to the sportsman, who found a paradise of hunting and fishing. But as older sections were developed this "grassland of America," as it has been well named, is being developed, although the process is much slower than it should be. We have now about 16,000,000 acres of undeveloped, fertile land in the northern part of these two States, and development is going on at the rate of less than 150,000 acres per year. Why is it so slow? It is not because of the character of the land, for no better land exists in America for intensive farming, and especially for dairying and the raising of live stock and sheep. No section of America offers surer rewards to the farmer than this. To the man with good health and willing to work and with a thousand dollars it says come, to the man with a hundred thousand dollars it says come, for every dollar put in here will return manyfold. There is but one class of people who are not welcome, and that is the speculator. We want only men who are willing to seek rewards from what the development of the lands will bring them. Speculation is the enemy of development, and we want none of it. I was born in this section. There I have always lived and I speak from personal knowledge of what this country is. Draw a line through central Wisconsin from the Mississippi River to Lake Michigan and all of Wisconsin north of that line and the upper peninsula of Michigan comprises the territory I am discussing. Here we have thousands of lakes and many rivers of the purest water. We have soil which will produce more than forty times as much as the soil of the 320-acre homesteads of the West. Some of us to-day will live to see this the richest dairying section of America. While general diversified farming will be found profitable, it is the dairying, live-stock, and sheep industry which is the most attractive.

SOIL.

This section has a variety of soils nearly all exceedingly fertile. The United States Department of Agriculture has made soil surveys of a portion of the area, and the conclusions arrived at are very favorable. In its report on the survey of the Bayfield area, bordering upon Lake Superior, it is stated, "it was not until after the timber had been removed and a few scattered acres brought under cultivation that the great fertility of these lands was recognized. Wherever the land was cleared grain, grass, and garden crops flourished, the luxuriance of their

growth being limited only by their adaptation to the soil types upon which they grew."

In its report upon the soil survey of the north part of north central Wisconsin it is stated, "Dairying and general farming are the chief lines along which agriculture is developing. The most important crops are hay, oats, potatoes, barley, and corn, with rye and wheat as crops of less importance. Potato growing offers excellent opportunities especially on the sandy loam soil. The region, as a whole, is well adapted to dairying and general farming."

CLIMATE AND RAINFALL.

The average annual rainfall in this region is from 28 to 34 inches, which is about the same as northern Iowa and northwestern New York. The temperature is about the same as northern New York. It is the climatic conditions together with the purest water and fertile soil that will make northern Wisconsin and northern Michigan the greatest dairy region of the world.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LENROOT. Yes.

Mr. MORGAN. I am very much interested because the question he is discussing applies more or less all over the United States. I wonder if, before he gets through, he would suggest some means of aiding in the development of this country, in the way of short-term credit facilities by the Federal Government?

Mr. LENROOT. I have not gone into that.

Mr. PLATT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield? A few days ago I had the pleasure of meeting the president of the Federal land bank in St. Paul, and having lived in the gentleman's city of Superior for one year, I am interested in the question he is discussing. I had a very interesting talk with this gentleman about the development of this very land, land that had once been forests. He told me it was progressing favorably, and that they made some very satisfactory loans on that land.

Mr. LENROOT. That is true.

ROADS.

One of the greatest drawbacks to the development of this region has been the lack of good roads. This is speedily being remedied, and during the past five years wonderful progress has been made. Every county in northern Wisconsin now has trunk-line roads built with State aid, and branch or town roads are rapidly being built.

MARKETS.

It is in the matter of markets that this region is peculiarly favored. To the north we have the cities of Ashland, Superior, and Duluth with a combined population of more than 150,000; to the west St. Paul and Minneapolis with more than 500,000; and to the south Chicago and Milwaukee. Any part of the territory can be reached in one night's ride from Chicago. All of the great railway systems of the Northwest enter it. Nine lines of railway traverse it north and south and four east and west, each with a large number of feeders and branch lines. In addition there is water transportation on Lake Superior from Superior, Ashland, Washburn, Bayfield, Marquette, and a large number of smaller cities.

CHURCHES AND SCHOOLS.

Notwithstanding the fact that this section is sparsely settled, it is well supplied with churches and schools, and there is plenty of opportunities to locate near in the vicinity of schools and churches already established.

LIVE STOCK AND SHEEP.

From a national standpoint the opportunities here for increasing our live stock and sheep are of the first importance. While our milk cows are increasing in about the same ratio as the increase of our population, this is not true of beef cattle. The problem of meat supply is yearly becoming greater. The wool situation is even more serious. We have 4,000,000 less sheep than we had seven years ago. In the 1900 census there were found 61,503,713 sheep; in the 1910 census, 52,447,861, and the Agricultural Department estimates that in 1916 we had 48,483,000. Our total production of wool in 1916 was 288,490,000 pounds. That year we imported 534,828,022 pounds. Increase of our own meat and wool production as one of our means of national defense is just as necessary as maintaining a Navy. Therefore, to omit anything that may be done to increase this production is most unwise. The lands of which I am speaking can do much to improve this situation.

Frank J. Hagenbarth, of Salt Lake City, Utah, president of the National Wool Growers' Association, a few weeks ago made an investigation of these lands, and in a speech at Menomonie, Mich., on October 10, before the Wisconsin Advancement Association and the Upper Peninsula Development Association, said: "You have the best country on earth for live stock and grazing. You can easily take care of 8,000,000 sheep and 1,000,000 cattle."

Speaking of the conditions in the far West he said, "The trouble now existing in the cattle and sheep countries of the great West is not that the homestead law has brought in settlers to drive away the cattlemen, but it has permitted valuable holdings to come under the control of land sharks and speculators who are driving the cattlemen to seek new fields for their flocks and herds. It is this fault which has decreased the stock raising 35 per cent and made for you the greatest opportunity which has ever come to any section of the United States."

Mr. B. O. Parker, of the Wisconsin State Department of Agriculture, in a recent article upon this section quoted a stockman as stating that he had made a gain of 200 pounds per head on heifers and cows grazing upon these lands from July 17 to October 10, and further quoted him as follows: "That is the greatest natural pasture land I have ever seen, and raises the finest blue grass and clover outside of Kentucky, and it excels Kentucky in that it doesn't dry out in July and August."

John Fletcher, vice president of the Fort Dearborn National Bank, Chicago, in a speech before the Wisconsin Advancement Association at Milwaukee, on November 22 last, said: "The shrinkage from Montana, Wyoming, and Idaho in shipping sheep to Chicago is estimated at 10 pounds per head. From Wisconsin to Chicago the shrinkage is only 4 pounds per head. The freight from Wyoming, Montana, or Idaho to Chicago is \$250 per car. From Wisconsin to Chicago it is less than \$50 per car. The capacity of a double-deck carload is 250 sheep. The shrinkage on one car, 250 head, 10 pounds per head, is 2,500 pounds. Twenty-five hundred pounds means 25 sheep. Twenty-five sheep, at \$10 cash, means \$250. Two hundred and fifty dollars is the freight on five cars of sheep from Wisconsin to Chicago."

Mr. DOUGHTON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LENROOT. Yes.

Mr. DOUGHTON. I am very interested in the gentleman's discussion. I want to ask if the lands he describes as being so valuable for stock raising are Government lands or privately owned lands?

Mr. LENROOT. They are practically all private lands.

I quote from a bulletin on sheep raising issued by the University of Wisconsin:

Favorable climatic conditions for sheep raising are to be found in upper Wisconsin. In the summer time the weather does not get as hot as farther south, and during the winter the air, though cold, is dry and the cold is not felt as much as when the air is damp. Sheep are used in many parts of upper Wisconsin for clearing brush land. Many men who keep a flock of from 300 to 400 head for land clearing find investment very profitable.

Quoting further from the bulletin:

Clover hay, which is a splendid feed for wintering sheep, is very plentiful in upper Wisconsin. Other small grains are raised, and the straw can be used for winter feed. All kind of root crops can be grown more successfully and with less expense in the upper than in the southern part of the State. One sheep raiser in Bayfield County harvested more than 1,043 bushels of rutabagas from an acre. Roots furnish very good succulent feed for sheep.

It further states:

Thirty acres of cut-over land in the red-clay districts will on the average provide pasture for approximately 100 head, 50 ewes and 50 lambs. On densely wooded mixed hardwood lands where grass has not gotten much of a foothold half that number of sheep will be sufficient. What is true of sheep is true of live stock generally. Every settler will do well to raise sheep, even if only a small number. By so doing he profits in two ways—the cash income from wool and mutton and the clearing of the brush. The man who will go into this section and engage in dairying, raising sheep and cattle, if he will use intelligent effort, is sure to be successful.

THE COST OF THE LAND.

There are no lands in this section that can be secured for nothing. There are no lands anywhere in the United States of the character of these that can be secured for nothing; but, considering their fertility, the climate, and the nearness to markets, there is no cheaper land anywhere. Prices of the best undeveloped lands range from \$10 to \$25 per acre, lands which when cleared and put under cultivation will soon be worth more than \$100 per acre. There are opportunities to fit every pocketbook, from the man with a few hundred dollars to the man with a hundred thousand dollars, provided, always, that the purchaser will utilize and develop the land.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LENROOT. Yes.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. What is the nature of the soil?

Mr. LENROOT. The soil ranges all the way from heavy clay to light sandy loam. There is only a very small percentage of this land that is not arable in the fullest extent of the term.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. What is the timber?

Mr. LENROOT. Hardwood and pine originally. This was one of the greatest white-pine forests of America. It is pine cut-over lands that offer the greatest opportunities for live stock and sheep raising.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. And the amount per acre that the gentleman gave carries with it such timber as is on the land?

Mr. LENROOT. Oh, yes. The pine timber has been cut over. These are practically what are known as cut-over lands; but there is a great deal of hardwood land, containing birch and spruce and timber of that kind, and very often the settler is able to secure enough from the timber to pay for the land.

Mr. YOUNG of Texas. In the cut-over land in our section of the country one of the troublesome problems is removing the stumps. What is the relief the gentleman has for that?

Mr. LENROOT. The only difficulty we have with reference to removing the stumps is where the land has been covered by large pine trees. That, then, takes time and dynamite. That is not true of the hardwood land at all. There is no difficulty there.

Mr. PLATT. The president of the St. Paul bank told me the other day that they had a special machine for pulling out those stumps and that the settlers were cooperating with each other in putting this machine in and clearing the land quite rapidly.

Mr. LENROOT. Yes; our State has done wonders in the line of assisting in that way, and we have organizations going through all of northern Wisconsin with these new machines, demonstrating them, and we are making very rapid progress. Our difficulty—and that is why I am making this speech today—is not with the men who are there trying to develop, but bringing the lands to the attention of men who will be glad to go upon them if they knew of them and develop them as they are now being developed by those who are there.

This is no get-rich-without-effort country. The man who would seek rewards here must work for them, must earn them with labor of hand or brain, but for such the rewards are certain. I quote from an advertisement of a land company offering lands at from \$10 to \$20 per acre—" \$10 cash and \$10 per month, or payments extended as long as \$10 in improvements are put on the property." "We will also start you with a house, barn, and garden, and grubstake you while you develop your farm." Of course, no one should purchase lands without a personal examination. This is true of land wherever located. The prospective settler should first communicate with some reliable organization and secure detailed information. If he will write the commissioner of immigration, Wisconsin department of agriculture, Madison, Wis., the Wisconsin Advancement Association, Milwaukee, concerning Wisconsin lands; and the Upper Peninsula Development Bureau, Marquette, Mich., concerning Michigan lands, he can be certain of securing helpful and reliable information.

The two latter organizations are prepared to offer special inducements to large sheep and cattle men who require large tracts for grazing purposes.

I can not in this brief time give more than an outline of the splendid opportunities awaiting those who, with either labor or money or both, will develop these lands. My chief purpose in discussing this matter to-day is to endeavor to secure a greater cooperation upon the part of the National Government in bringing these opportunities before those who would avail themselves of them. In this connection I quote from a recent article in the American Sheep Breeder, published in Chicago:

Hagenbarth advised the Wisconsin and Michigan people to bombard Washington and get the Government interested in pushing cut-over lands for sheep. O. K. suggestion, but why in thunder don't the Government investigate without urging? This Government of ours has seen the sheep biz slipping down the toboggan, and what has the Government done to stop it? For 15 years the American Sheep Breeder has preached the cut-over land gospel for sheep. We have published the strongest kind of testimony, proving that these lands were admirably adapted for sheep raising. But the West was blind. The Government occasionally called attention to this country, along with other sections, that might be sheeped. It takes a heck of a while to interest the Government in anything but politics. Now that a wool crisis is on sheep will come before politics. Of course, it takes a national crisis to wake up the American people, and Congress is the last institution to open its optics. In Wisconsin and Michigan agricultural colleges have told the story of successful sheep experiments on the cut-over land, but Washington has paid little attention.

I hope that now, with the pressing necessity of increasing our food and wool production, these conditions will not much longer exist, and that the National Government will do what it can to secure the development not only of these lands but fertile undeveloped lands wherever they exist in the United States. Large appropriations are not required, but systematic methods should be employed to bring such lands to the attention of men who are in a position to develop them.

In conclusion I wish to quote what Dr. H. L. Russell, dean of the College of Agriculture of the University of Wisconsin, has said of these lands:

Blessed with an abundant rainfall and a pure and unlimited water supply, possessing a soil of virgin fertility, and splendidly suited to diversified farming, and located within a night's ride of markets for several million people, three-fourths of whom are consumers and not

producers, this vast and largely unoccupied area is equivalent to a newly discovered State. The route from the Wisconsin producer to a great body of consumers is comparatively short and the consequent toll much reduced.

The agricultural resources of these sections have long remained hidden under the stumps and the second growth of the forest cover, but their real value is being appreciated more and more each year. These lands await the redeeming hands of the pioneer who will put them into active service for mankind in helping to support and develop human life. To him who reclaims and transforms a waste into a productive farm and home the State owes much.

[Applause.]

Mr. HAUGEN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 45 minutes to the gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. Young].

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. Chairman, the winter wheat crop of this country is in very bad condition. The last report shows that the crop is worse than at any time since crop records were kept. That means that we ought to be thinking about the spring crop—the crop that is to be planted next spring. The greatest menace to the spring crop is black rust, and the scientists are now generally agreed that the cause of epidemics of black rust is the barberry bush. Until recently there was much disagreement as to what was the effect of the barberry bush.

Mr. WASON. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman speaks of the barberry bush. Does it grow in the gentleman's section of the country?

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Certainly.

Mr. WASON. Can the gentleman give the House something of its characteristics and growth and effect upon the wheat?

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. I will say to the gentleman that the barberry not only grows in North Dakota but throughout all the States. It grows right here in Washington, and I have here a bush, a clipping from a hedge at the north side of the Library of Congress. It is a small ornamental shrub, used usually for a hedge. It has bright yellow flowers and brilliant autumnal tints in varying shades of orange and red.

I believe in some places they take the little red berries and make jams or jellies out of them, but in the United States, so far as I know, they are not used commercially at all. They also make an acid, malic acid, but as far as I know that is not produced in the United States. It is purely an ornamental shrub. In colonial days the people were satisfied that the barberry bush was the cause of rust and most of the Colonies passed laws for the eradication of the barberry bush. The Colony of Massachusetts passed such a law in 1755, and a statement issued at that time read like this: "It has been found by experience that the blasting of wheat and other English grains is occasioned by barberry bushes to the great loss of the people of this Province." Massachusetts reached that conclusion again about 30 years ago and passed a similar law. Back just 101 years ago experiments were made in Denmark and they reached the conclusion that the barberry bush was the cause of black rust. Then, like Massachusetts, they had a relapse and not until 1903 did they come to the same conclusion again. In 1903 they passed a law in Denmark for the eradication of the barberry bush and there has not been an epidemic of black rust there since that time.

Mr. PLATT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Yes.

Mr. PLATT. Is the gentleman going to tell just how the barberry bush has an influence in producing black rust? Is it bacteria growing on the barberry bush that gets into the wheat?

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Yes; the barberry bush is what the scientists call the host for a parasite that develops there during the winter and during the summer it transfers to the wheat fields. Curiously enough the wheat field acts as a host to a parasite that goes back to the barberry bush, and so it makes a complete life cycle. The barberry bush is the nursing ground in the cold winter, particularly in our country, where the black-rust parasites or germs will not live unless they get on a barberry bush. They will not live out in the wheat field.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. I will.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Is it not true they can treat the seed wheat with formaldehyde and other substances and prevent any rust, and is not that being used and is it not effective as a preventative of rust?

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. That is a preventative of smut, but not of black rust. The only thing that we have tried seriously in the past is to discover a rust-resistant seed and we have not succeeded in that direction, at least only partially. Now, as I have already stated, the scientists have come to an agreement that the barberry bush is the thing to destroy in order to get rid of black rust and stop epidemics of

that rust. Dr. William A. Taylor, when before our committee last June, made this statement. He is the Chief of the Bureau of Plant Industry.

We are now prosecuting a survey study of the wheat-rust situation from the South northward, in order to get at what the wise course would be with reference to attempting systematic barberry eradication, particularly in the northern spring-wheat territory. We have there a case, as you know, of a disease which is to a large extent dependent on this other plant, the barberry, for its perpetuation and spread. Denmark has apparently, with very complete success, accomplished control of rust by complete eradication of the barberry.

A few days ago Dr. Kellerman, of the Department of Agriculture, was also before our committee, and he made this statement:

The black rust, or stem rust, is especially serious from time to time. That disease sweeps over the spring-wheat area as an epidemic, in some cases almost the total crop being destroyed. In 1915 it was very bad, and many of the fields that were affected did not produce enough wheat to pay for harvesting. The investigations during the past few years indicate clearly that the native barberry plant is responsible to a very considerable degree for these epidemics. The disease will overwinter on the barberry and will start from the barberry back to the wheat with greatly increased vigor. Although it is not possible to completely eradicate black rust by the eradication of barberry, it appears certain that the severity of the black-rust epidemic can be greatly reduced by systematic and thorough eradication of the native barberry. This is not likely to be particularly difficult, since the Japanese barberry is in most cases preferred as an ornamental plant, and the Japanese barberry is not susceptible to this disease. So in this case the Japanese barberry will be a substitute for the native barberry and the disadvantage of completely eradicating the ornamental plantings will be very largely met in this way.

Now, as to the question of the amount of damage, and that is the most important consideration now with the Government, when the entire people of the country are looking to the farmers for a record crop of wheat in 1918. I want to call your attention to the fact that in 1916 there were 180,000,000 bushels of wheat destroyed in the hard spring wheat belt alone from black rust. Here is a telegram from the commissioner of agriculture of North Dakota, Hon. John N. Hagan. He says:

North Dakota has destroyed nearly all barberry bushes.

In this respect I want to say, so far as our own State, North Dakota, is concerned, that we have got this problem pretty well under control. As I have just quoted from the commissioner of agriculture, we destroyed practically all barberry bushes in North Dakota last year and we will get the rest this year. The trouble is we have not got any control beyond our State boundaries. We are still exposed to the winds from Minnesota, South Dakota, and Manitoba carrying the parasite in the form of a very fine dust which can be carried hundreds of miles by the wind. It is a national problem. If we could settle this question of black rust in North Dakota we would not be down here asking for a larger appropriation to fight black rust. It is because we can not go beyond the State line, we can not invade Minnesota, South Dakota, and other States. Here is the place to tackle this big proposition.

Mr. HAUGEN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. I will.

Mr. HAUGEN. The black rust is a fungus on the plant?

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Yes.

Mr. HAUGEN. And it has for its host the various grains in the second stage? In its first stage it has for its host the barberry bush?

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Yes.

Mr. HAUGEN. It develops under certain conditions of air, moisture, and temperature, and with hot winds and heavy dew and rains it develops the black rust, and the spores being lighter than air are carried perhaps many hundred miles by the wind.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. That is true.

Mr. HAUGEN. Like the dandelion, for instance. It is carried a great distance, therefore it is not in the power of one State to control it.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. It is distinctly a national problem. I will go further than that. It is an international problem. We must get Canada interested in this proposition. A little later I will read a telegram showing that the people up there are alive to the needs of cooperation with us.

Now, to continue reading this telegram from Commissioner Hagan, who has been very active in the fight against the barberry bush—in fact, the first public official outside of agricultural colleges to take it up. He says:

In 1916 State lost many million bushels of wheat on account of rust. For best results other States must destroy. Nineteen hundred and three Denmark destroyed barberry bushes, and have had no rust since. Use influence to get national appropriation. It will increase food supply in wheat States.

The president of our agricultural college, E. F. Ladd, wired me as follows:

The estimated loss in spring wheat belt in 1916 was 180,000,000 bushels.

Now, if we should happen to have any such calamity as that this year it would be a very severe blow to this war. I have already called attention to the fact that the winter crop is poorer now than it has been at any time in the history of the country since we have kept records of the crop, and it is up to us now to put the best foot forward. We know that in 1916, in the hard-wheat belt alone, we lost 180,000,000 bushels of wheat from black rust, and we know how that can be prevented. If we dig all the barberry bushes before May 15, 1918, we are not going to have any black rust in the United States. And some of these people in the towns who want to help out the war by plowing up their tennis courts and putting in potatoes can help it a mighty sight more by digging up the barberry bushes.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Will the gentleman yield there?

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Certainly.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Is it not true that the climatic conditions, the rains and other storms, have something to do with creating the condition of rust on wheat?

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Certainly. So far as the spores from the barberry bushes are concerned, they are present every year. If we had just a certain kind of climatic conditions each year, we would have black rust every year and it would destroy the crop.

Now, the fact that it misses in some years does not mean that we can gamble in 1918 that it is going to. If we get a certain kind of climatic conditions this year, and if we do not take care of the barberry bush, we are going to witness perhaps 200,000,000 bushels of wheat destroyed by rust. If the climate happened to be all right, and we could gamble on that, we might let these barberry bushes grow and still have our crop.

Mr. PLATT. Is the barberry bush, or has it been, of pretty general distribution in North Dakota? Does it grow in fields or along the fences or around houses as an ornament?

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. In most cases it has been set out as an ornamental shrub, and it is found mostly in towns and villages.

Mr. PLATT. It does not spread and become wild?

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. No. Over in Michigan, on our farm, there was some growing out in the pasture field. I do not know how it got there. But it is not a bush that spreads easily. It is an ornamental shrub that is set out.

Mr. PLATT. The task of destroying it, then, would not be a very tremendous one?

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. I do not think it would.

Mr. MORGAN. It is a well-established fact that with the hot winds and humidity and heavy dew the calamity the gentleman mentions is sure to follow?

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Certainly; when the barberry is present.

Mr. HAUGEN. And one barberry bush would be sufficient to infect the whole county? Has the demonstration been carried on satisfactorily in Denmark?

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Yes. It is a most serious menace even in small quantities.

Now, to continue President Ladd's telegram, he says:

North Dakota estimated wheat in 1916 was not less than 160,000,000 bushels. Rust in one week cut yield to 39,000,000 bushels.

I am talking about our own State. In 1916 the United States Government crop estimate was 160,000,000 bushels and it was cut down by black rust to 39,000,000 bushels. He says:

All important that barberry bush be eradicated in wheat belt. North Dakota has enacted and put in force an eradication law. Tristate Grain Growers' Convention passed resolution calling for destruction of all barberry bushes and appointed a committee on Friday to go to Washington to urge measure for protection of country. Similar committee appointed from conference at Crookston. Fifty thousand dollars not too much for eradication of bush in spring-wheat belt alone, and bill should carry authorization for eradication of all barberry.

The convention that passed the resolution to which he refers was made up of farmers from Minnesota, South Dakota, and North Dakota, representing the biggest portion of the hard-wheat belt in the United States, which, as you know, extends on up into Canada.

Prof. H. L. Bolley, who has made a very careful study of grain diseases and plant diseases for a number of years, and especially in respect to black rust, is confident that the black rust can be destroyed, can be eliminated, by the destruction of the barberry bushes.

He wires me as follows:

Hon. GEORGE M. YOUNG.
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Have the bill for rust control authorize and order the immediate eradication of all rust-bearing strains of the common barberry bush throughout the Nation as an emergency measure likely to prove of direct value in increasing the yield of present and future cereal crops, and particularly of wheat.

H. L. BOLLEY.

Mr. PLATT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from North Dakota yield to the gentleman from New York?

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Certainly.

Mr. PLATT. Does the black rust affect winter wheat, too?

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. It will affect any wheat, but so far as our section of the country is concerned, it is more apt to get the spring wheat. We do not raise winter wheat in North Dakota.

Mr. HAUGEN. The fact is that the winter wheat matures usually before the hot wind comes?

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Yes. You will notice that Prof. Bolley urges that this be put upon a national basis. Of course, a number of the States do not raise any wheat at all, and there are some others that do not raise very much, and I think some of this appropriation, if we make it, ought to be used to educate the people of those States where they do not raise much wheat to the importance of destroying the barberry bushes. Now, it is not going to be a very big task to destroy all the barberry bushes in the United States if the people themselves understand that it is a war measure, that it is necessary to do this in order to win the war. That is going to be one of the things that the department will have to do; that is, carry on a campaign of education.

A telegram has been received from the Canadian department of agriculture at Ottawa saying that they thoroughly appreciate the danger this year to the wheat crop in the Canadian Provinces and that they will cooperate to the fullest extent with our country in fighting the barberry bush.

Such a telegram as that was sent to Prof. Bolley at Fargo last week, and this morning I was talking to some of our officials here at Washington on the subject, and they told me they have had assurances from the Agricultural Department at Ottawa, and that they are apparently even more eager to enter a campaign against the barberry bush than we are here in this country. He says they appreciate in Canada, just as we do here, that it will not do much good to destroy it in Manitoba and Saskatchewan if we keep it in North Dakota and Minnesota, and that it will not do much good to destroy it in North Dakota and Minnesota if they allow it to grow in Saskatchewan and Manitoba.

We are asking a total appropriation of \$50,000, \$30,000 larger than that of last year, which was \$20,000. I am pleased to say that an amendment to that effect offered by me on the last day of the consideration of the bill in committee was acted on favorably, and the item is carried in the committee report.

Mr. Chairman, the campaign that ought to be carried on throughout the country by the department, and which will undoubtedly be followed, will be along the line of arousing the people to action through the county agents, through the schools and the colleges and the farm journals and the milling and trade journals, and by a still more comprehensive appeal made through all the newspapers of the country, designed to reach all the people, especially those who live in the towns and villages, because there is where most of the barberry bushes happen to be. Then it will be necessary, I think, too, to have a quarantine established between the different States. The department already has the power under the quarantine laws to regulate and even prohibit all shipments of barberry bushes between the different States.

There is another point that ought not to be overlooked, and I want to call the attention of the chairman of the committee particularly to it, and that is that this appropriation ought to be made available immediately. I am assured by Dr. Kellerman and by Dr. Humphrey and others in the Department of Agriculture that it will not do any good to kill or pull this plant after May 15.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Certainly.

Mr. LEVER. I will say to my colleague on the committee that so far as I am concerned, if he can get by a point of order against making it immediately available, I will have no objection to it.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Well, I submit that no Member of this House is likely to make a point of order against money proposed to be spent to save the wheat crop this year, and I do not believe that anyone will make a point of order on this item for that reason.

Mr. LEVER. I am satisfied if all the membership of the House could hear the gentleman's discussion on the necessity for it they would not make the point of order. I will try to get the language changed in view of his statement and his quotation of Dr. Kellerman and Dr. Humphrey.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. I appreciate very much the assurance given by the chairman of the committee, and I also appreciate the fact that he was glad to consent to an increase of the appropriation carried last year of \$20,000 up to \$50,000, as proposed by me, doubtless appreciating the tremendous importance of not taking any chance this year of letting our wheat be destroyed or largely reduced by the rust.

Dr. Humphrey made this statement to me in respect to the work that has been done in Denmark. He said:

Prior to 1903, when the barberry-eradication law was passed in Denmark, epidemics occurred with considerable frequency, and often with very great severity, causing in some years an almost total loss of crops in some sections. After the passage of the eradication law in 1903 the eradication of barberry was systematically pursued, and since that time the shrub has been practically eliminated from the country, with the result that there has been a corresponding diminution in the occurrence of rust outbreaks and in the severity of the same, until at the present time there is practically no loss from rust in Denmark. When all of the shrubs are destroyed in that country, there may be no loss from black rust whatsoever.

I hope you will note that last sentence. Dr. Humphrey says that when they are all destroyed, every single one of them in Denmark, there may be absolutely no loss in that country.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Certainly.

Mr. LEVER. I assume that the gentleman has discussed this matter very thoroughly with Dr. Humphrey, and I would like to inquire if Dr. Humphrey has made up his mind as a scientist as to whether or not the eradication of the barberry bush will result in getting rid of this black-rust trouble or is the proposition still in the debatable stage?

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. I will say to the gentleman that Dr. Humphrey, who talked with me to-day in the presence of Dr. Kellerman, says that very recently all doubt upon this subject has been removed.

Mr. LEVER. I am very glad to hear that, because it makes the problem very much simpler.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Now, this is the thing that bothered the scientists in the past. It was like a herring drawn across the trail that confused them. They found that farther to the south the black-rust spores would live in the wheat fields throughout the winter, and the thought was that as in most of the wheat sections now on account of the cold the barberry bush is the only thing through which the rust parasite can live through the winter, their proposition was that if you killed the barberry, what good would it do, because in the warmer States the spores live through the winter and would be blown across the States. They have found now that where the spores do live through the winter, where it is more mild, they will not propagate when they are blown into the hard-wheat belt. So they have now reached the firm conclusion that the barberry bush is the host which perpetuates the black rust, and that the extermination of the barberry bush will practically rid us of any trouble from black rust.

Mr. WELLING. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Yes.

Mr. WELLING. I have not had the advantage of hearing all of the gentleman's interesting speech, and I would like to find out, if I can, how wide an area in the United States is affected by the black rust, or by the particular plant that seems to propagate it.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. It affects every place where wheat is grown, more or less, but more particularly North and South Dakota, Minnesota, Montana, Illinois, and away on through as far as Ohio, and also in Texas. It is a national problem without any question.

Mr. LEVER. I am interested in the gentleman's statement that in certain sections of the country, under certain climatic conditions, the spores of this rust would live through the winter, notwithstanding the fact that it might not have as a host plant the barberry bush, but that it would not propagate itself in North Dakota. I was wondering if it would propagate itself under the climatic conditions in which it lived during the winter. Do I make myself clear?

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. The gentleman makes himself perfectly clear on that point, but I am not able to give him the information that he ought to rely on. I prefer that he would talk that over with the experts down at the department. I asked them that question this morning, and I am not absolutely sure what their answer was; but I gathered generally from what they said that by eradicating the barberry bush from the United States we would never have very serious trouble again from black rust anywhere in the country; and that is in keeping with all the old records they have had in the past. For instance, in Massachusetts and in Connecticut and in the old Colonies they discovered that the barberry bush

was the fruitful cause of black rust, and no doubt it is a nurse or host for it everywhere East and West, North and South, and it either increases the amount of it or is the total cause of it—either one or the other. In the hard-wheat belt it is the entire cause.

Mr. HAUGEN. The gentleman has spoken of wheat. Other crops, such as the oat crop, are damaged equally. It does not affect the wheat crop alone, but it affects the oat crop as much as the wheat crop.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Also rye.

Mr. HAUGEN. In my State we are more especially interested in the oat crop. Until black rust came along our wheat yield was generally high; but black rust came along in 1878, and since that time we have not been able to produce much wheat. Occasionally we do grow a fairly good crop of wheat, but seldom as good as before we had the black rust. The black rust follows the hot winds, heavy dew, and the rain.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. I will say also that it attacks rye and some of the other small grains, as well as oats.

Mr. HAUGEN. All of them.

Mr. WELLING. Is the gentleman able to say whether or not the black rust that he refers to is the same as the red rust that affects us sometimes out in the arid region, in my State and elsewhere?

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. No; not at all.

Mr. WELLING. It is a different proposition?

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. A different proposition; very much more serious.

Mr. HAUGEN. Entirely different.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. It attacks the stem, and if it attacks it at the right time there is very little wheat. As I mentioned a little while ago, before the gentleman came in, in 1916 the official crop estimate for North Dakota was 160,000,000 bushels, and it was cut down by black rust to 39,000,000 bushels. And I want to say also that that 39,000,000 bushels, on account of the shrunken condition of the wheat, brought a very low price, and there was quite a lot of dockage in it. The wheat made excellent flour, but the grain dealers took an unfair advantage of the farmers because of the appearance of the grain. That, however, is a subject which I can not go into with my limited time.

Mr. WELLING. How much is being carried in the bill for the eradication of this plant?

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Fifty thousand dollars.

Mr. WELLING. Does the gentleman feel that that is in any way adequate to eradicate this host plant that the gentleman is speaking about?

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. I wish the gentleman had made that statement in the committee room. I tried to get as much money as I could, and I thought the committee were fairly liberal with me when they let me have \$50,000, although a very much greater sum could be used. It does seem to me that this is a proposition upon which the people of the United States ought not to gamble for a second. We ought to make dead sure that every barberry bush in the United States is destroyed before May 15 of this year, no matter how much money it takes.

Mr. WELLING. Fifty thousand dollars represents only about 25,000 bushels of wheat nowadays.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Yes.

Mr. WELLING. The experience you have had in your own State, which you have just quoted, would seem to justify a much larger expenditure if the thing is susceptible of successful combating.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. As far as North Dakota is concerned, we have already appropriated money in that State to eradicate this plant; but it will not do any good for us to destroy it if other States do not destroy it also. I am not putting it on the ground of saving some money for the farmers who put in grain this year, although that is very important. I am putting it upon the ground that we must raise a big crop of spring wheat this year, and upon the further fact that the winter crop of wheat is poorer than it has been at any time in the crop history of this country. We must face this condition as it is. Since crop records have been kept in the United States we have never had an average condition so poor for winter wheat as at this time; and I am urging you now to stand by this appropriation, as I say, not because of its effect upon the individual farmer, but because of its possible effect on this war. If there is an item anywhere before any committee of this Congress that is distinctly a war item, this is the one. There is not anything more important in connection with bracing ourselves to fight this war through, and fight it through right, than to make sure of a big wheat crop this year. I will not object at all if the gentleman from Utah, when this item comes before the committee, moves to increase it.

Mr. HAUGEN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Yes.

Mr. HAUGEN. I think it is but fair to the committee to state that the department's estimate was \$20,000, and the committee increased it to \$50,000. We feel that we have dealt liberally in this matter. If they think that more than \$50,000 can be used, they can move to increase it; but the department has to carry on the work, and it is a question as to how much the department can use in the coming spring. I think that \$50,000 is all that can be used to good advantage. It has to be done largely through the States Relations Service.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. It depends upon how extensive a campaign of education shall be carried on. If we attempt to carry on a campaign such as the Food Administration is carrying on in respect to food, it would run up into the hundreds of thousands of dollars. If we undertake to educate all the people in the States where they do not raise wheat, as well as those where they do, to the idea that it is going to help to shorten this war to destroy the barberry bushes growing on the lawns in front of their houses—if we undertake to convince every man that that is the thing to do, it might reach a very large sum. I do not know how much free advertising the department can get, but I presume it can get a lot out of the agricultural journals and the milling-trade journals and all the newspapers of the country. They have all been very generous in giving space to everything that would help in the prosecution of the war. I presume that a large amount of publicity may be given without pay.

Mr. WELLING. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Yes.

Mr. WELLING. I do not want in any way to criticize the committee for the appropriation. I know something about the significance of pests in this western country, although this particular one has not invaded my State. I know how necessary it is that they should be adequately met when they first arrive.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. There is another item that I desire to call attention to, which is this: A very serious seed-grain problem presents itself in many of the States. Congressman JOHN M. BAER has introduced a bill to help farmers to obtain seed wheat upon credit. I regret that the time yielded to me has about expired. Otherwise, I would present facts showing the necessity of passing the Baer bill if we are to expect a big crop this year. Upon a later date I shall address the House upon the subject of seed grain. The danger from a lack of seed wheat is one of the strongest reasons why we should make no mistake on the question of black rust. I do not think there is any doubt at all that quite a large number of farmers in the United States will not put in wheat this year simply because they have not the seed and have no money to buy it and not sufficient credit. If that is true, and if Congress does not provide some method by which farmers can buy seed wheat on time, it is one more reason, one added reason, why we should see to it that the wheat crop this year is not destroyed by black rust.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. HAUGEN. I yield the gentleman five minutes more.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Gov. FRASER, of North Dakota, being alive to the vital importance of the seed problem, has called the legislature together in extra session for the purpose of dealing with it. I do not know how many States will take similar action. It is expected in North Dakota that the legislature will authorize counties to bond themselves for the purpose of buying seed wheat which they can sell on time to those who have no money to buy it. Yet, even after that authorization is made, there will still be the problem of selling the bonds. They will be short-time bonds. There is a regular commercial market for long-time county bonds, but no regular market, no established place, where short-time bonds—six months, seven or eight months' paper in the shape of bonds of counties—may be sold. Even if there should be a ready market for their bonds there is a limit to what each county can do in the way of voting bonds to buy grain.

Even if the farmers are helped in that respect I think there will be in our State a good many fields that will not be seeded to wheat this year, simply because they can not raise money to buy the seed. In Montana I think the situation is worse than in the western half of our State, and there will doubtless be quite a large acreage that will not be seeded to wheat, because they have not the seed. Some of you gentlemen here know the conditions in Texas and some of the other States. This all argues, I think, the importance of making provision to take care of the one preventable thing, the destruction of the wheat crop, by destroying the barberry bushes. When this item is reached in the bill I, of course, do not expect that anybody here now—and I am glad so many have remained to hear me—I do not expect anyone will make a point of order against having this

item made immediately available, because I am sure that everyone here appreciates the fact that if we do not destroy the barberry bushes before May 15 it will not do any good to destroy them afterwards. This appropriation will be useless to us unless it is made immediately available. If anyone proposes to make that point of order, I hope all of you who are here now will help to persuade him to withdraw it. The Food Administration is making a great and, to my mind, a very commendable campaign to save food, particularly breadstuffs. But with their wheatless days, their expenditure of hundreds of thousands of dollars in publicity and otherwise, at most they can not hope to save more than 180,000,000 bushels of wheat. In 1916 180,000,000 bushels of wheat were destroyed by black rust in the hard-wheat belt alone. I appeal to you, gentlemen, to join us of the Committee on Agriculture in passing this appropriation item to make the recurrence of such a calamity impossible. [Applause.]

Mr. HAUGEN. Will the gentleman from South Carolina use some of his time?

Mr. LEVER. I have been overwhelmingly besieged for time, but the besiegers do not happen to be here at present.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that no quorum is present.

Mr. LEVER. I hope the gentleman will not do that.

Mr. HAUGEN. The gentleman from Idaho, to whom I next yield, will be here in a minute.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Chairman, I will withdraw the point of order.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Chairman, in the meantime I would like to ask the members of the committee, in order that we may expedite the consideration of the bill when it reaches discussion under the five-minute rule, to read carefully the report that accompanies the bill. The report has been carefully prepared with a good deal of trouble, and undertakes to give in some detail the lines of work that are to be undertaken under each item and with each appropriation. If gentlemen who are not on the Agricultural Committee will familiarize themselves in a degree with the report, I am satisfied that it will save all of us on the committee having to go through the necessity of explaining these various and sundry items as they come up in the bill. I may say further that in reporting the bill the committee has made it after very careful inquiry into the needs of the Department of Agriculture.

In most of the items there has been little, if any, change. The committee on its own initiative in some cases has increased or decreased these appropriations, as in the judgment of the committee was thought wise. One of the larger increases is most important. A considerable increase in the appropriation was made for the control of tuberculosis in food animals—in cattle and in hogs. The expenditures of the Department of Agriculture for that purpose during the current fiscal year will amount, as I recall it, to about \$117,000. The department in its estimates requested an increase over that amount of \$86,000. The committee of its own accord added to this until the appropriation, as carried in the bill for that purpose, amounts to \$250,000. I took this matter up myself, after a discussion in the committee with representatives of the Secretary's office, and I was informed by them that the Secretary felt that the department could very wisely use \$250,000 during the next fiscal year in work attempting to control and prevent the spread of tuberculosis in food animals. The estimates of losses from this disease of cattle and hogs vary anywhere from \$25,000,000 to \$30,000,000 a year, and yet all of us know that there is an absolute world shortage in meat-producing animals, due, of course, to the heavy drains of the war. The committee therefore felt that it was justified in providing additional funds for stimulating, encouraging, and promoting this line of work, and therefore upon its motion increased the appropriation.

Mr. GOODWIN of Arkansas. To what extent have the activities of the Government been extended in endeavoring to control tuberculosis in live stock?

Mr. LEVER. I would say that the only extensive effort to control and eradicate tuberculosis, aside from the study of the disease itself, was taken up this fiscal year under an appropriation which is now carried in the Agricultural appropriation act for this year.

Mr. GOODWIN of Arkansas. Does the gentleman know what success, if any, the Government has made in that direction?

Mr. LEVER. Of course, the work has been largely experimental, and it has been going on for not more than six or eight months, but the reports are encouraging to the effect that with proper handling, proper appropriations, and patience and a long pull, we ought to ultimately control this disease.

Mr. GOODWIN of Arkansas. I think it is an important work and ought to be liberally provided for.

Mr. HAUGEN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. FRANCIS].

Mr. FRANCIS. Mr. Chairman, it is most timely at this point in our session to bring to the attention of Congress all accurate testimony available concerning conditions in our great National Army camps. We have all had reports from our young constituents concerning the treatment they have received, and the revelations in the testimony before the Senate Military Committee have brought home to us a realization that all has not been going well. With a desire to inform myself as to conditions on the ground, I took time during the past few days to visit five of our camps, and wish to submit my observations and conclusions for the information of this body.

CAMP DEVENS.

Camp Devens is our most northerly camp. As you approach it, your worst fears, based upon frequent rumors of the extraordinary cold weather prevailing at that spot, seem about to be entirely fulfilled. It is a complete snow scene. The fields are white; the roads and drill grounds are white; the roofs, and everything but the four walls of the buildings. Everything is covered with a foot of snow. The mistake of putting a permanent training camp so far north is manifest. But great as was the mistake, the rigors of the situation have to a considerable degree been overcome by the extraordinary industry of those assigned to the place.

There are several commendable features about this camp. Though it was placed on a rough and hilly site, months of work have overcome the handicap and there are now many excellent level drill grounds. Though it is complexly arranged, a host of intelligent signs make traveling about easy. It is particularly characteristic of this camp that signs and directions everywhere, indoors and out, make duties clear and identification simple. Other camps might imitate this feature with profit. There is also a large and fully equipped motor truck, full of all conceivable shoemaking and repairing machinery, which operates under its own power, and can take care of the footwear of an entire division. This is an important feature, and is worth the serious attention of the War Department. But what stands out preeminent at this camp is the general air of interest and activity. Everyone is doing something.

Numerous construction and repair tasks are under way. The vast blanket of snow is not permitted to be an obstacle. The men are well clothed and fed and their quarters are warm and comfortable.

Much, however, remains to be done. Owing to the faulty location many more inequalities of ground must be removed in the spring. The garrison shoes, which have been issued to the men have not been successful, and have broken down after brief usage. Even after long urging the War Department has not yet sent a sufficient supply of large-sized overcoats. There is, however, an over supply of small coats. One is lead to believe that there must be a chart of sizes of overcoats for a division in Washington, and that the failure of the boys at camp to respond to the sizes printed on the chart is considered such a violation of regulations that the boys must be made to suffer. In particular, there is an inexcusable scarcity of school buildings. Many special schools of instruction in gunnery, range finding, bombing, and similar work are in operation, but there is no place to hold them except out of doors on the snow, or in the barracks among the beds. Under either environment this highly necessary military instruction is handicapped. At the hospital, where there are also several large classes, there are neither sufficient rooms for teaching or adequate quarters to house those who are temporarily there or the nurses.

In the field of ordnance there is a painful scarcity of equipment. There are enough horses but not enough saddles or bridles or halters. The horses were rescued from a stable which upon the first thaw left them standing in a foot of water. As for artillery, I saw at least 50 wooden guns mounted on carriage wheels and many more similar makeshift limbers. There was one wooden model of a 3-inch field piece, a clever imitation and typical of the Yankee ingenuity displayed at the camp. But what a commentary on the efficiency of our War Department to have to construct a wooden gun after we have been at war nearly a year. There should be 72 field guns and howitzers at the camp, but there are less than a dozen old-fashioned pieces. There should have been at least one modern gun for instruction. The camp has no modern machine guns. From a huge dugout of snow a large howitzer protruded, but unfortunately it was only of wood. In one regiment two naval guns have somehow been obtained, and at the side of them are two ingenious but sad-looking creations, a 1-pounder and a trench gun, made from lengths of gas and water pipe.

In spite of all this the spirit of the camp is excellent. There is a wonderful depot brigade exchange which has paid a \$200

dividend to 35 companies and has \$10,000 in the bank. The spirit of the officers is one of creative energy, a spirit that might be imitated with profit in Washington. It is refreshing to spend a few days with these practical men who are creating an army on the ground and not behind a barricade of desks.

CAMP UPTON.

Camp Upton is one of the best known of the National Army Camps because of its proximity to the great city of New York. Thousands have visited it weekly and know its bare and frozen vistas by heart. Because of this location it has had the benefit of much special attention.

The hospital is well equipped and has never been overcrowded. The health of the camp compares favorably with that of any other. The food here has always been of superior quality, and it is obvious that there is an excellent spirit both at work and play among the men. Many forms of recreation have been successfully instituted.

There are, however, several features that are not at all satisfactory. The Field Artillery regiments have virtually no guns to drill with—not even wooden guns—so far as I could see. For four months the men have been going through the motions with this chief article of attack represented by an area marked on the ground. Consider how much invaluable time for technical instruction has been lost.

The shoes at the camp have been a failure. The camp's newspaper published prominently in its columns the fact that several shoes were found to contain paper and glue fillings in the heels and soles. All of the men who can afford it purchase durable shoes outside.

In laying out the camp the conventional design was strictly followed, with unfortunate consequences. The country at Yaphank is rolling, and the rigid adherence to the plan resulted in some quarters being placed in hollows of the ground. Naturally during the recent snowfalls and thaws the floors of some were flooded. Many barracks, though not flooded, are to-day totally surrounded by frozen ponds. Extensive drainage must be provided in the future if the camp is to be kept open. At the present time all roads of approach to the camp are of soft dirt frozen into prodigious ruts. Something must be done before the spring thaw, or Upton will be isolated except by railroad. This is a serious situation, of which no cognizance seems to have been taken at Washington. Carloads of cinders should be on the way there now.

There are several minor matters worthy of comment. The military police, which should have 300 horses, has only 30, and is without saddles, save 10 which it borrowed. There are 4,000 horses in camp, but through the complete lack of halters none can be used. There is an ample supply of horseshoes but no nails, and the standing joke of the police is which is the best way to tie the shoes onto hoofs. There are not even yet sufficient woolen gloves for the men, and, in spite of the fact that the wet weather of spring is soon to be here, there are only a few hundred of overshoes in camp. There should be 30,000, in view of the quality of the shoes and of the soil, or we will have an outbreak of grip and pneumonia.

It is doubtful if the camp was wisely placed. The surrounding country is somewhat marshy and has a reputation of excessive heat and mosquitoes in summer. An effort must be made to drain these marshes. In spite of all, however, substantial progress has been made in Infantry work, and it was my pleasure to see an admirable drill of a regiment of Engineers.

CAMP MILLS.

My first impression as I approached Camp Mills, the abandoned National Guard camp on Long Island, was that it had been hit by a hurricane. Tent poles stuck up in the air at rakish angles, some with swaying guy ropes, some with strips of tattered canvas, while near by other tents of various sizes and shapes swayed and flapped unsteadily in the icy wind. My advent upon the ground only magnified the scene of desolation. For a mile in either direction was a field with a sorrowful outfit of torn and abandoned tents in all stages of destruction. From long rows of mess kitchens ragged burlap coverings fluttered in the gale.

It seems that the Rainbow Division had left in a hurry, as the approach of winter brought on pneumonia, and had left so hastily that it had no time to strike camp. For some weeks the outfit was left standing in the face of oncoming winter, and by the time the War Department had acted the damage was done. About 250 tents were still standing. These were, for the most part, frozen to the ground; that is, they had been ditched and the earth thrown against the sides, leaving a solid mass of ice and frozen earth. These tents were gradually being lashed to pieces in the wind. About 300 tents were down on the ground and frozen in solid. Pools of water had formed in the folds of the canvas and were now ice.

Through this wreckage protruded tent poles and angular stove pipes. All this outfit was a total loss.

In some fields I could see that the equipment had been taken down, the poles and pins removed, and the ground cleared. A soldier informed me that the destruction was not complete, but that over a thousand tents had been packed away. I went to look over the method of storage. There are at the camp about 6 or 7 rows of mess kitchens of about 20 kitchens to a row. These buildings have roofs covered with tar paper, but the sides are only protected with screening or burlap. As I entered the first one, I found how the tents were stored. They were stacked in piles. Through the ragged burlap the winter gale, with its fine snow, blew in. On two sides the burlap was entirely down. The floor was of dirt. In this shack I counted, roughly, 100 tents folded and roped, but with the bottom layer frozen in pools of water. The kitchen also contained some 500 camp cots, collapsed and stacked, but with the bottom row likewise frozen in. After tramping a mile and looking into many of these abandoned kitchens, I found it was the same everywhere. They all contained stacks of equipment virtually unprotected from the weather. They must have held between one and two thousand one-time valuable canvas homes, but now hopelessly on the way to destruction in the falling snow.

A further survey of the field revealed in one spot a huge heap of tents, more than 200, utterly unprotected in the open air. In another spot was a pile of stoves and stovepipes fast rusting. Near the railroad was a pile of baled hay, a hundred or more feet in length, entirely unprotected. A few soldiers of the camp guard were wandering about picking up an occasional stove or shovel by way of salvage.

The first natural question is, What is the amount of the loss? The Army and Navy Register of January 5, 1918, puts it at \$300,000. Roughly speaking, it can be said that the entire camp equipment of a division was abandoned, not abandoned on the field of battle, but within 30 miles of New York. Some can be saved if it is taken away now before it is destroyed by the weather to come, but the part that is frozen in can never be recovered. The loss at this camp has a double significance, because, while these tents were going to ruin, severe epidemics racked Camp Sevier and Camp Funston and Camp Bowie from overcrowding.

CAMP DIX.

Camp Dix, like Camp Devens, was on the day of my visit blanketed with snow. It was not as deep, perhaps, but it was accompanied by a temperature below freezing. Companies of our soldier boys were going through their setting-up exercises in overcoats in the snowy fields. The air was bracing, for the camp is located in the famous central healthy zone of New Jersey. The whole setting was an ideal one for winter sports but hardly for military training. Here, as elsewhere, there was an enthusiastic spirit among the men. They were eager for work and military lessons by day, and during evenings kept all the pianos in camp in action. Their barracks were warm and their bath houses comfortably heated.

It was not difficult, however, to detect certain serious faults. The construction of the camp buildings must have been unusually faulty, as already parts of the walls are drawing apart, leaving large cracks. In particular the hospital has suffered. The hospital is not even yet done, although it is fully occupied, and a recital of its shortcomings reflects seriously upon those responsible for its condition. Its sterilizers are incomplete. It is short of all kinds of surgical instruments. The walls of the operating rooms are not only drawing apart but were not sanitary or air-tight when constructed, and are not so built that they may be washed down or sterilized. In some of the wings the ventilators in the roofs have been defectively built, allowing rain to beat in and leak down. The dark room is still light, as there is no black paint in the camp. In the head department the construction is the worst. The operating rooms not only have insanitary walls but wooden floors. The hospital only has a partial fire equipment, and the fire house connected with it has never been built. It has not sufficient auto trucks for its business, and it has inadequate telephone facilities. Unless these defects are remedied promptly they may well be the cause of serious consequences.

The situation in respect of ordnance is deplorable as elsewhere. Men are training with disused Colt automatics. They have never seen the type of machine gun that they are to use, and, indeed, do not know what it is to be, so that they may study the designs. There is no modern artillery in the camp whatsoever, though there is some old material for drills. There are no automatic revolvers.

In equipment for the men there is a shortage of large-size overcoats, and of the new and necessary winter caps. Com-

panies of men were still marching about in the freezing weather with the old-style campaign hat. The military police alone were adequately clothed. The situation with respect to shoes is obscure, but many who had had two pairs issued to them have been ordered to return one pair for reasons unknown. Many men have bought their own shoes as those issued were uncomfortable. Other minor matters are open to comment. There are not enough schoolhouses. No provision has been made to meet the spring thaw, and the natives prophesy weeks of impassable country roads. There is a lack of equipment for the horses. The men, however, are working on looking forward with hope to the day when they will go across, but no matter how much spirit they show they will never be a well-trained army until we put in their hands the implements that they are going to use at the front.

CAMP MEADE.

The greeting at Camp Meade was a heavy snowstorm, entitling this camp to be classified with those farther north as not suitable for winter training. It is far enough north to be subject to heavy snowfalls and yet not sufficiently far to have the offsetting benefit of continued cold weather, which is not unhealthy for warmly clad people. At Camp Meade there are freezing spells and thaws, making it a fertile field for colds and grippe. The southern negroes who have been transferred to this camp for training have felt this particularly. In this connection, it is to be said that the policy which sent the southern negro north to a snowy country for his training can be justified only on exceedingly narrow grounds. It has resulted in unnecessary sickness among their numbers, and the time is going to come on the battle front when the social question involved will have to be met.

The chief distinctive attraction at this camp is the schools. There are several for machine gunnery, bomb work, liaison work, and artillery, and all housed in commodious buildings and busy all day with classes. The eagerness and intelligence of the soldier students is subject of comment by all the instructors. There are also two extensive sets of works in the field for training men in open attack, with trenches, obstacles, and dummies to be encountered. As at Camp Devens, there is a general air of diligent preparation about the camp.

The base hospital, however, is by no means in a satisfactory condition. There are not yet sufficient officers' quarters nor sufficient hot water for such that exist. The walls of the operating rooms are not sanitary. The operating room in the head department not only has defective walls, but it is planned to cover the floor with linoleum, which will not last under acids and from which blood stains can not be eradicated. The plumbing in many parts of the hospital is defective. There is such a bad selection and shortage of instruments that many of the doctors have been forced to supply the deficiency out of their own pockets.

It may be mentioned here that the heating system at all the hospitals is defective. There is no return system and thousands of gallons of hot water are thrown away, involving a wastage of tons of coal.

The soldiers are not yet completely equipped for winter, though it is nearly February. There is only a partial supply of winter caps and rubber overshoes. There is still a shortage of woolen gloves and leggings, and while the stock of woolen uniform coats is numerically sufficient, there is a shortage in several sizes. The boys complain that they should be required to pay full fare on the near-by railroad, in view of the fact that there is a special reduced rate on the road to Camp Upton. They complain also that the allotment money which should go to their parents is two and three months overdue, which works great hardships at home.

The ordnance situation is substantially the same as elsewhere. There are only a few old field guns for drilling. There are not sufficient machine guns, but those that the camp has are being put to best advantage in the schools. Though there are plenty of horses, there are not enough saddles or saddle blankets. In fact, this matter of horses is an example of the lack of coordination in Army plans. All over the country are thousands of horses eating their heads off week after week which can not be used because there is no ordnance to be drawn and no harness to draw it with if it existed.

CONCLUSION.

This brief review of conditions on the ground is suggestive in itself, but the general situation must be considered before attempting a full interpretation.

Two outstanding features came to my notice at every point—first, the unsatisfactory relations between the camps and Washington; second, the gunfire situation.

In respect of the first, it was the constant complaint that everything involving routine through Washington was accompanied with interminable delay. As one of the officers put it, it took him three months to get out of Washington what he could go to town and get in three days if he wanted to pay for it himself. True there were occasional exceptions in matters of soldiers' clothing, but repeated requisitions have been sent from some camps for supplies and equipment without result, and even without acknowledgment. There were numerous complaints from the men that allotments to their families were several months behind, and they felt justly incensed that the Government should withhold the money that they had earned. Also at one camp three men who were disabled and who had been recommended for discharge have been idling around for over three weeks awaiting word from Washington. Moreover, orders emanating from Washington are too rigid in character. Not even commanding generals at camps have authority to modify the regulations of the Quartermaster Department in details of construction. The Regular Army officers are dissatisfied because promotion has been confined to within the division, and their juniors in rank are constantly going over their heads in new commands. The active and alert men at the camp accept the situation as one of the necessary evils of life. They have no envy for the bullet-proof, swivel-chaired jobs in the War Building.

The second observation is concerning the artillery and the machine guns. It is humiliating to go to camp after camp and be faced with ingenious wooden dummies. The breakdown of the Ordnance Department is brought home as it never could be before a committee. Let us consider the situation of modern warfare broadly. The one great thing that has been brought home to us over and over again is that the way to win the war is by gunfire. We know that we must train thousands in the intricacies of modern artillery practice. So important is this work that scores of expert French and British officers have been taken from the front to teach the necessary technique. How do you think a foreign officer feels who has now for four months, in our tenth month of war, been teaching machine-gun fire from blue prints and blackboard drawings? Many of them feel that they should go back to the trenches on the western front, where there is man's work to be done. They are tired waiting for machine guns. It is inexcusable that from our supply at Springfield half a dozen of the modern types should not have been sent to each camp long ago. As one foreign officer put it, with three Vickers guns he could turn out 75 machine-gun instructors a month, and could have been doing this for four months. England has been making 2,000 Lewis guns a month, and could have readily sent us 100. Our Army will never be more than an army of paraders until we have taught it gunfire. In the matter of field artillery the situation is equally bad. We have been teaching men how to place guns that they have never seen; how to range them with instruments they have only read about in books, and how to charge them with shells that exist only in photographs. In this, the chief and greatest factor of modern warfare, we are now 10 months at war with no proficiency in the field.

This leads me to consider the final question, that interests us all, of what is the matter with the War Department. Before I attempt to answer this I want to say that no one can visit our camps without a realization that a great and impressive work has been done and that the fullest recognition should be given to those who have done it.

But I have asked this question because a still greater task is ahead of us than we have accomplished. Many of us, Members of Congress, have spent nine weary months being shunted from door to door and from officer to officer, and we know well what is the most obvious fault. We know it is filled with incompetents and deadwood. It is so, because we know the men. We can point out specifically men now sitting at desks who would not last a month in civil employment. We have found generals doing the work of clerks and captains doing the work of errand boys. What our War Department needs first and foremost is a Kitchener to clear the deadwood out. No theory of administration can make deadwood animate. It has got to go.

In the second place, we know that the work of the War Department is faulty, because the organization of the War Department is defective. No amount of minor organization can remedy it. The trouble is that it is philosophically wrong at the head. I can best illustrate this in this manner: The most successful modern form of business organization is the American corporation. This corporation has two heads; one is the chairman of the executive committee, whose duty it is to create policies; and the other is the president, whose duty it is to carry out the policies. He is the administrative head. We frequently pay chairmen of our executive committees \$100,000 a year to

do nothing but think. We do not permit them to undertake administrative tasks. We know they can not think if they have to constantly act. It is the president of the corporation who is expected to provide the driving power. Now, the trouble with the organization of the War Department is that the double duty of creating policies and furnishing administrative power is vested in one man. He is the Secretary of War. Neither he nor any one man in the United States can carry these two burdens in this war. This war is the greatest business ever undertaken in America. We must treat it as the practical business man of America would. These two functions now vested in the Secretary must be distributed if we are going to get both plan and action in the War Department.

I have offered these suggestions by way of constructive criticism and not in a spirit of attack or hostility. Furthermore, what we must do with the War Department we must do with the entire administrative branch of the United States Government. The Nation needs an industrial plan. We must select men of brains and give them the time to create this plan. We must let others carry it out. This war is essentially a war of industrial production, and if we do not place in positions of authority the great industrial leaders of the country we will meet with disaster. [Applause.]

Mr. HAUGEN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 25 minutes to the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. MORGAN].

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the Record.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Chairman, we are considering the agricultural appropriation bill, a measure of vital interest not merely to farmers but to the whole country. We are in a great war. It is conceded that there is nothing more important than the increase in our food production. Therefore Congress should promptly enact all legislation that will contribute to this end. In the national platforms of the two great political parties of this Nation in 1912 there was a distinct pledge to the farmers of the United States that the National Government would give them credit facilities equal to those possessed by trade, commerce, and manufacturing. By the act approved July 17, 1916, we enacted a law to provide the farmers of the United States with long-time farm-mortgage credit. That applies only to farm-mortgage credit. It is a long-time credit system. Under it loans can not be secured for less than five years. There is another kind of credit the farmer must have. It is known as short-term or personal credit. Fully one-half of the \$6,000,000,000 indebtedness of the farmer is short-term loans from individuals, merchants, and banks. Our system of farm credit is not complete, and we will not have redeemed our pledge to the farmers until we shall have established a system of short-term farm credit. Fully one-third of our farmers are tenants, who can not utilize the long-term farm-mortgage system, because they have no farms to mortgage. A large percentage of men who have farms do not need or desire five-year loans. They do need and can utilize short-term loans. There is another point. It is on short-term personal loans that farmers pay the highest rate of interest. It is on such loans that extortionate rates of interest are usually charged. Until the short-term farm-credit system shall have been established we will not have lifted the burden of high interest rates from the farmer or given agriculture the credit facilities essential to its prosperity. So I appeal to my colleagues in this House, Republicans and Democrats, to join with me in the preparation and passage of a short-term farm-credit bill.

With a view to doing my part in this great undertaking, I have prepared and introduced a bill (H. R. 8827) for this purpose. It is entitled "A bill to provide short-term credit for the farmers of the United States, and for other purposes."

By permission granted me to extend my remarks, I will print the bill in full as "Appendix A."

OUTLINE OF PLAN.

The bill H. R. 8827, introduced by me, proposes—

1. To authorize farmers to incorporate local credit organizations, under the name of "Federal farm credit societies."
2. To establish 12 regional banks, to be known as national farm-credit banks.
3. To require the Federal reserve banks to rediscount, under proper restrictions, the notes of farmers when indorsed by a local credit society and a regional bank, and to authorize all other banks to discount or rediscount such paper.
4. To make the regional banks Government depositaries and to authorize special deposits therein by the Secretary of the Treasury, and to permit the regional banks, through the local credit societies, to utilize these deposits in extending credit to the farmers of the United States upon the same terms that com-

mercial banks use such deposits in extending credit to trade, commerce, and manufacturing.

5. To authorize regional banks to issue and sell farm-credit debentures, based upon the notes of farmers, when indorsed by a local Federal farm-credit society and a regional bank.

NATIONAL FARM-CREDIT BANKS.

Under the provisions of my bill, the 12 regional banks are designated as "national farm-credit banks." The following summary describes their chief characteristics:

1. One of these banks will be located in each of the 12 Federal land-bank districts, and the national farm-credit bank and the Federal land bank, in each of said districts, will be twin institutions, located in the same city, doing business in the same building, having the same men for directors and officers, assistants and employees, and yet be entirely separate and independent corporations, promoting a different line of agricultural credit, and in no way responsible for each other's contracts or debts.

2. Exclusive of the capital subscribed by Federal farm-credit societies, which must be equal to one-tenth of the amount of credit extended to such societies, every national farm-credit bank, before beginning business, must have a minimum capital of \$1,000,000, which if not otherwise subscribed, will be taken by the Federal Government.

3. They may receive deposits, pay interest thereon, borrow money, use their funds in making loans to Federal farm-credit societies, and by discounting notes with the Federal reserve banks and other financial institutions, they are to become the avenues through which credit will flow from its sources to the farms.

4. National farm-credit banks, in furnishing credit for the local society, will rely (1) upon their capital, (2) upon deposits from individuals or the Federal Government, (3) upon the sale of debentures, and (4) upon rediscounting the notes of the farmers, when indorsed by local societies, with the Federal reserve banks and other banking and financial institutions.

5. Each national farm-credit bank will be primarily liable for its own debts and debentures, but in case of a failure of any one of such banks, all other such banks will be required to contribute to prevent loss to its creditors.

Mr. LOBECK. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MORGAN. I am glad to yield to the able and distinguished gentleman from Nebraska.

Mr. LOBECK. May I ask if the bill the gentleman introduced covers the idea of loaning money to these tenant farmers on short time, or does it tend to assist them in buying farms, implements, grain, seed, and so forth?

Mr. MORGAN. The plan provides for furnishing them with short-term credit for any productive purpose, to extend for one year. The tenant farmer must develop his business. As a tenant he must make sufficient money—say, half the price of the farm—before he can use the long-term, farm-mortgage banks to aid him in buying a farm.

Increased personal credit at a low rate of interest, used to purchase additional live stock, better farm implements, machinery, tools, and other equipment, seeds and fertilizers, and to employ labor, will enable the tenant to enlarge his business operations, increase his production, and augment his annual savings. The short-term personal credit will lead him up to the point where he will have sufficient means to enable him to utilize the Federal land banks in securing a long-time loan, through the assistance of which he rises from the tenant class to the position of proprietor and owner.

Mr. LOBECK. Now, is this money in addition to the money that is loaned by the Government under the land-bank theory?

Mr. MORGAN. I did not understand the gentleman.

Mr. LOBECK. Is this money the gentleman provides a short loan by the Government in addition to the money loaned on the land owned by the borrower?

Mr. MORGAN. Certainly. It is from entirely different institutions.

Mr. LOBECK. The Government is not intending to loan to other people, who do not have farming property or own land?

Mr. MORGAN. It loans to anybody who can furnish the required security for a personal loan, just as commercial banks now make loans upon personal security or chattel mortgage. Many men who have little property have credit and, if necessary, can furnish indorsers for any reasonable amount.

Mr. LOBECK. I understand the Canadian Government is loaning to men to whom they sell land or grant land in certain cases to develop their farms and—

Mr. MORGAN. Yes; the Canadian Government, as well as many other governments, has been much more liberal in loaning money to farmers and in aiding them to become landowners than has the United States.

FEDERAL FARM-CREDIT SOCIETIES.

The chief features of the local Federal farm-credit societies may be outlined as follows:

First. They will be corporations, operating in restricted areas, serving a limited farm population, controlled by borrowers, and managed by a board of five directors, with a president, vice president, and secretary-treasurer, who will be the only paid official.

Second. They will not be banks, receiving deposits or doing a general banking business, but will be credit societies, utilizing the local commercial banks for depositories.

Third. Exclusive of the capital subscribed by borrowers, each society will have a minimum working capital of \$2,500, which, if not otherwise subscribed, will be furnished by the Federal Government.

Fourth. Each borrower will be required to subscribe to the capital of the local society in an amount equal to one-tenth of the loan granted, which may be paid for out of the proceeds of the loan, and on the payment of the note such stock may be canceled and the face value thereof credited on the note.

Fifth. Local societies are authorized to charge one-half of 1 per cent per annum interest in excess of the interest rate which the regional bank charges the local society, and from this margin will be expected to meet administrative expenses and be able to pay dividends on stock held by borrowers sufficient to offset the interest paid by them on money invested in the stock held in the local society, but no dividends will be paid on stock held by the Government.

Sixth. Local societies will make loans on their own account entirely independent of the regional bank, and will thus be in a position to transact business promptly and to close loans without delay.

Seventh. Local societies, in borrowing money from regional banks or in having their notes discounted thereby, will subscribe to the capital stock of the regional bank in an amount equal to one-tenth of the credit extended by the regional bank.

Eighth. Shareholders in local societies are liable for the debts of such societies only to the amount of stock held; but the principle of the unlimited liability, practiced by many of the European short-term farm credit societies, will apply as between societies, so that in case of the bankruptcy of a local society all other societies will be required to contribute to prevent losses to creditors.

Ninth. Local societies are made exempt from local or Federal taxation, are prohibited from charging an interest rate in excess of 6 per cent per annum, can not make loans for less than \$10 or for more than \$1,000, and all loans must be secured by the signature of two responsible indorsers, or by chattel mortgage, or by bonds or other adequate collateral security.

IMPORTANT DIFFERENCE.

Under the provisions of my bill, H. R. 8827, the local credit societies differ radically from the ordinary local credit society under European short-term credit systems. In Europe generally local credit societies receive deposits and do a general banking business. Under my bill local credit societies are not authorized to receive deposits or to conduct a general banking business. There should be some good reason for this proposed change. Some of these reasons are as follows:

1. To permit local societies to receive deposits and conduct a general banking business means a duplication of banking institutions in almost every community in the land. This country already has an abundance, if not a superabundance, of banking institutions. The increase in the number of banks in the community does not, as is generally supposed, greatly enlarge the credit resources of the community. Their chief credit power comes from deposits. The banks render a service to the public, but the public pays for it. When banks are too numerous it simply means increased charges on the public in some form. Banks compete for deposits, but their interest rates in a given community are quite uniform. Clearly, therefore, the National Government should not bring into existence an entirely new set of banking institutions, located in every community, and covering the entire country, unless such a course is necessary to accomplish the purpose in view, namely, to provide the farmers with adequate credit facilities at a low rate of interest.

2. The receiving of deposits and the conducting of a general banking business will require local societies to invest much larger capital. The people in this country, including the farmers, are accustomed to make their deposits and do business at the local commercial banks. To compete with these banks in securing deposits the local societies must do business upon a scale which compares favorably with the facilities, opportunities, and advantages offered by the local banks. To do this, the farmers must furnish large additional capital. This would hinder rather than help the success of the local institutions.

3. To receive deposits and conduct a general banking business, in competition with local commercial banks, will largely increase the expenses of operating, managing, and maintaining such societies. The farmers who borrow must, of course, pay this expense. This means higher interest rates. Economy in administration is one of the chief principles upon which European societies depend to insure low rates of interest.

4. To receive deposits and conduct a general banking business by local societies means a much greater cost to the Federal Government in their supervision, regulation, and control. We should not, of course, overlook the expense which the National Government will be in the supervision of these institutions, because the expense thereof must be raised by general taxation, and the farmers, constituting more than one-third of the population of the United States, must pay their share.

5. To receive deposits and conduct a general banking business adds very greatly to the complexity of the business operations thereof. Other things being equal, simplicity in business is always desirable. Farmers who manage local societies are not expected to be experts in commercial or banking business, as bankers are not experts in farming. Unless it is absolutely essential, the local credit societies which the farmers are to manage should not be authorized to conduct a business which from its very nature is difficult, complex, and intricate and in which they have had no training.

6. To receive deposits and conduct a general banking business by the local societies will require far greater skill and efficiency in the managers thereof, and this will mean higher-priced salaries and greater expenses.

7. The more complicated a business is the greater danger there will be of financial failure. "Too many irons in the fire" is applicable to all kinds of corporations, including farm-credit institutions, as it is to individuals. There is danger in complexity of business. A short-term farm-mortgage credit system, when fully established in the United States, will be by far the largest institution of the kind in the world. In founding it every precaution should be taken to secure its safety and permanency. It should be built upon a solid and enduring foundation. No practice, principle, or feature should be utilized in its construction that will endanger its safety.

8. To permit local credit societies to receive deposits and to conduct a general banking business would place them in direct competition with the local commercial banks in every community. This might develop antagonism which might result disastrously or injuriously to either or both. The law gives private parties the right to organize commercial banks, and it is an eminently useful and respectable business. There are, of course, unconscionable bankers. So there are bad men in all occupations. The object of short-term farm-mortgage credit is not to injure bankers or to destroy their business. But this is a free country and equality of opportunity should be conceded and guaranteed to all. The farmers, therefore, should be given ungrudgingly the opportunity to organize with a view to increasing their credit facilities, to reduce the cost thereof, and to utilize these credit facilities to expand and extend and enlarge the great industry of agriculture and to promote their own material interests. To do this will not mean loss to commercial banks or to other legitimate business institutions. It will mean greater prosperity and happiness for all. I do not, therefore, advocate better credit facilities and lower interest rates to farmers in the spirit of antagonism to banks or other business interests. I do it in a spirit of broad patriotism, knowing in my heart that it will promote not only the material prosperity of farmers, but that it will contribute to the social, educational, and religious advancement of our farm population, increase the wealth of the Nation, and promote the general welfare of the American people.

Mr. COX. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. MORGAN. I will be glad to yield to my distinguished friend from Indiana.

Mr. COX. The gentleman has kept up with this question more closely than I have and knows more about it than I do. Can he tell me what is being done in the way of joint-stock company banks that are provided for under the farm-loan banks?

Mr. MORGAN. I talked with one of the officers of the Federal Farm Loan Board, and my memory is that he said that there had been two organized and those were in the gentleman's own State—Indiana.

Mr. COX. I did not think any had been organized in my State.

Mr. MORGAN. I think he said two.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. I think I heard the chairman of the Farm Loan Board state that there were four in the United States, and that they were all in the eastern part of the country and confined entirely to that section.

Mr. COX. I was called out and did not hear all the gentleman said. I quite agree with the gentleman, but I can not make up my mind, very correctly at any rate, where the farm-loan mortgage system is going to benefit the fellow that did not have a piece of land. I never was able to figure out in my own mind a satisfactory solution of the problem, that that system would enable me to buy land unless I had land or some other tangible substance to start with on which I could borrow money. Now, the gentleman's plan. I take it, is a substitute for that to benefit that class of people?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir; and also the farm laborer, and the owner of a farm who can use short-term credit more profitably than a loan extending five years or more.

Mr. COX. How do you propose to do it—to loan directly from the Government to the borrower? If so, on what security?

Mr. MORGAN. No; not directly from the Government. Here is the plan: There will be local societies, the Government furnishing the working capital of \$2,500 or whatever amount may be fixed.

Mr. COX. Do not forget your thought: Would that local corporation correspond to the national farm-loan associations under the Federal Farm Loan System?

Mr. MORGAN. It would, except that the local society in my proposed system of short-term credits would do business independently of the regional bank, so far as making loans is concerned, while in the land-credit system the local associations do not close loans. They send their application up to the regional bank will have no control whatever in making loans, lending farmers. I opposed this plan, and we must find some way to change it. In the short-term credit system the regional bank will have no control whatever in making loans. The local society alone will be responsible for the loan and act on it promptly.

Mr. COX. Where would the local society get the money to loan in the first place?

Mr. MORGAN. In the first instance, the bill provides that the local society must have at least a minimum cash capital of \$2,500, exclusive of capital subscribed by borrowers.

Mr. COX. Paid up?

Mr. MORGAN. Paid up before it can do business. And I provide that if the public, exclusive of the borrowers, does not subscribe this capital, it will be subscribed by the Government, through the Secretary of the Treasury. The local society, so long as it has funds, will make loans to borrowers. Then it indorses these notes to the regional banks, which loans to the local society money to be reloaned to the farmers. So the process goes on indefinitely. The farmer's note is good when indorsed by two persons, but when the same paper is indorsed by the local society it is still better, and when finally it is indorsed by a regional bank, it becomes as good as gold.

Mr. COX. Because it has behind it the local institution?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes. It will have behind it the local institution, and finally the regional and the entire system.

Mr. COX. What is the minimum number now required under the gentleman's bill to start a local society?

Mr. MORGAN. Ten persons.

Mr. COX. The minimum capitalization is what?

Mr. MORGAN. Two thousand five hundred dollars, and the minimum capitalization of the regional bank is \$1,000,000.

Mr. COX. The minimum capitalization is \$2,500, and that must be paid-in cash?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes; that must be paid-in cash, and that is exclusive of any capital subscribed by borrowers.

Mr. COX. Then the local organization could loan that \$2,500 on real estate, I take it, or—

Mr. MORGAN. No; on personal security.

Mr. COX. And accept notes on the loan, and the regional bank could rediscount those notes again?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes.

Mr. COX. And through that process the gentleman proposes to raise that money?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes.

GOVERNMENTAL AID.

In the preparation of this bill I intended to authorize the National Government to render all the aid, either by funds or through supervision and control, that was essential to the success of the system. Thus far I think the Government should go and no farther. The aid extended consists—

First. In the enactment of national legislation, authorizing these institutions, which in a manner vouches for their safety and usefulness.

Second. The local societies and regional banks are not only placed under the supervision of the Federal Government, but extensive control in their management is given through the authority of the Federal Farm Loan Board and the three public

directors of the regional banks appointed by the Federal Government.

Third. Under the provisions of the bill the Federal Government will furnish the working capital of \$2,500 for each local society and \$1,000,000 capital for each of the regional banks, unless said capital shall be otherwise subscribed.

Fourth. The Federal reserve banks are authorized to rediscount the notes of the farmers when indorsed by a local society and a regional bank, and such notes thus become the basis upon which a part of our national currency is issued.

Fifth. National banks are authorized to loan money to or discount the paper of local societies.

Sixth. Regional banks are made Government depositaries and the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to make a special deposit therewith in an amount not exceeding \$12,000,000 in one year, and any of such deposits may be loaned to local farm-credit societies, to the same extent and upon the same terms commercial banks may loan such deposits.

Seventh. Local societies and regional banks are exempted from all national, State, and local taxation.

Mr. LOBECK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MORGAN. Certainly.

Mr. LOBECK. Finally, after all, the Government is the backer?

Mr. MORGAN. No more than in the land-credit system.

Mr. LOBECK. But as to the really great amount of capital that is needed, the Government through its millions of dollars in the Treasury is the backer of the institution?

Mr. MORGAN. I say it is on the same plan as the land-credit system. We have already adopted that system in the land-credit system, so that it would not be a matter for much argument now.

Mr. LOBECK. What position did the gentleman take when it was a matter of asking the Treasury to take \$100,000,000 worth of bonds for the years 1918 and 1919, when we had it before the House the other day?

Mr. MORGAN. I supported that amendment to the law.

Mr. LOBECK. I am glad to hear it.

SAFE AND SOUND.

Mr. MORGAN. The plan proposed is designed to be a perfectly safe and an absolutely sound system of short-term farm credit. Safety, security, and stability are essential to success in any system of finance. Without these characteristics investors will not have confidence in the institutions without which they are doomed to failure. I have endeavored, therefore, to create a system that would be safe, sound, and stable. The local credit societies will be comparatively small institutions. The shareholders will be intimately associated. They will reside in the same community. Each man's reputation for industry, sobriety, and honesty will be known. Every borrower will be required to secure his note with the signatures of two responsible persons, or by chattel mortgage, or by the delivery of bonds or other adequate collateral security. These local societies are not designed to be charitable institutions. All who borrow will be expected to pay, and every precaution will be taken to insure same. Every shareholder will be personally interested in the payment of any loan made. If a borrower fails to pay, every other shareholder will suffer loss thereby. These local credit societies will be expected to exercise fully as much care in extending credit as an ordinary commercial bank. Every borrower is required to subscribe to the capital stock of the local society an amount equal to one-tenth of his loan. The main object in requiring this subscription is to make the local society financially responsible. This stock stands as a guaranty fund. That is the chief purpose of it. The borrower pays for his stock out of the proceeds of his loan; he is allowed to cancel his stock on the payment of the loan and have the amount credited on the face of his note. Dividends are paid on his stock, but the amount stands as collateral security not only for the payment of the borrower's note but also for the debts of the society. Societies are prohibited from going in debt in an amount in excess of ten times their capital stock. Automatically the capital of the society increases with the loans at a fixed ratio and will stand as a guaranty fund equal to one-tenth of the debts of the society.

The business of the local societies and of the regional banks will be restricted to credit transactions. Simplicity in business is an element of safety. Complexity in business is an element of danger. European experience has demonstrated this fact. "Too many irons in the fire" is liable to be disastrous to banking institutions, as it is to an individual in business. Confinement of business to a single line will be a source of strength and safety to the local societies and the regional banks.

The regional banks will furnish credit only to local credit societies. In Europe regional and central farm-credit banks furnish credit not only to local credit societies but to all kinds

of cooperative societies which are conducting extensive business transactions. For numerous reasons these corporations are more liable to suffer financial losses than pure credit societies making comparatively small loans to farmers with every loan secured.

There is another proposition still more important in this connection. The only credit extended by the regional banks will be to local credit societies. The local credit societies are indorsers for each other. The principle of unlimited liability is applied as between local societies. If a local society meets with financial reverses, all other such societies are legally bound to come to its rescue. If it fails and its assets are insufficient to meet its liabilities, all other societies are required to contribute an amount sufficient to save creditors from loss. There can be no loss through extending credit to a local society, unless the entire system goes down. The regional banks are simply the local societies in concentration. The regional banks suffer no loss except through failure of a local society, and this loss can not occur, unless all such societies fail.

Of course, the local societies and regional banks are not only under Government supervision but, in part, under control of the Federal Government, and thus surrounded by every safeguard to insure their honest, efficient, and conservative management.

Mr. LEVER. I have read the gentleman's very interesting book on Rural Credit. It has been some time since I read it, and I do not recall whether the gentleman discusses this proposition or not.

Mr. MORGAN. In that book, which the gentleman sees fit to compliment—for which I thank him very much—I discussed only the land-credit proposition.

Mr. COX. Will the gentleman yield right there?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes.

Mr. COX. Has the gentleman's plan been tried out in any other country? If so, in what country?

Mr. MORGAN. I was just coming to that. I was going to speak of the system which France has adopted. I have adopted in large measure the system which France established some 20 years ago, and which the authorities I read have complimented very highly. Now, what is the plan of France? It has local credit societies. It has regional banks—98 of them—one in each State and Province. Perhaps we ought to have more than 12, or we ought to let these regional banks have branches in each State. France has local societies and 98 regional banks, and the Bank of France is required to rediscount the farmers' paper, when indorsed by the local societies and these regional banks, the same as it discounts the paper of the great commercial interests of the Nation. It has always been the policy of France that the Bank of France should aid agriculture upon equal terms with trade, commerce, and manufacturing. We have never done that. Later on I will discuss further the French system and show what aid the Bank of France renders agriculture.

Mr. LOBECK. As far as the gentleman knows, has this been conducive to larger agricultural production in France?

Mr. MORGAN. Unquestionably it has. It has been in operation only perhaps about 20 years, but Hon. Myron T. Herrick in his book on rural credits, says that under its national system in 15 years France gave its farmers the most symmetrical short-term credit system possessed by any nation in the world.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. MORGAN. I should like 10 minutes more.

Mr. HAUGEN. I yield to the gentleman 10 minutes more.

Mr. LOBECK. Then the object of the gentleman's bill is that by providing these short-time loans the small farmer, or any farmer for that matter, will be helped to produce larger crops for the benefit of humanity in this country?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes.

Mr. LOBECK. And the gentleman thinks it would be helpful in every way?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes; and it is a fact that we do not realize the power of credit. Our great industrial interests, our great manufacturing interests, are depending upon credit, and we never could have built up the great industrial interests we have in this country except through the extension of credit. Credit as a power, as an instrument, as a force, as a factor in production can be utilized in agriculture the same as in commerce and trade and manufacturing.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. I do not know that I caught exactly how the gentleman is going to supply the funds to make these loans. As I understand, the local organization has a capital of \$2,500.

Mr. MORGAN. Exclusive of the capital subscribed by the borrowers.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. When that source of supply is exhausted, where does the money come from to supply the additional funds?

Mr. MORGAN. The local society sends notes to the amount of \$2,500 to the regional bank. That bank discounts those notes and sends the society \$2,500, which is reloaned to farmers.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. I am deeply interested in the subject. I am in favor of a complete credit system, including long-time and short-term credit. Is there any provision for the sale of bonds?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes; I have provided another way in which to raise money. The regional banks are authorized to issue debentures. I call them debentures to distinguish them from the bonds of the Federal banks. They are supposed to be issued on short terms, one to five years, secured by the notes of the farmers, and they will become standard securities, because these debentures rest on the credit of the local societies and the regional banks. All the regional banks are bound together. So these debentures issued by the regional banks would be gilt-edged securities and could be disposed of on the money market.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. The security given by the farmer is his personal note?

Mr. MORGAN. The farmer has to give two indorsers or a chattel mortgage or deposit collateral security. In other words, it is not supposed to be a charitable institution. The credit will not be extended on any other idea than that it shall be paid.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. Is there any limitation as to the valuation of the property?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not think my bill requires a limitation, but simply provides that it shall be adequate security.

Mr. LOBECK. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MORGAN. I will yield to the gentleman.

Mr. LOBECK. Suppose I want to borrow \$250 for summer work and I have not got the 10 per cent, \$25, to put up?

Mr. MORGAN. You would make application for a loan sufficient so that after taking out the 10 per cent you would still have sufficient funds left.

Mr. LOBECK. Then I get \$225. But really, after all, would not the local organization furnish the money for the stock which I take?

Mr. MORGAN. No; because you give the local society \$25 to invest in stock in the regional bank. It is credit and not cash we are dealing with. The local organization has \$250 of your paper and it has only paid you \$225. It is \$25 to the good, so to speak. It discounts your note at the regional bank, gets \$250 in cash, but invests \$25 in stock in the regional bank. The account is squared. When you pay your note your stock is canceled, the amount thereof, \$25, is credited on your note, and you pay back only the \$225 you actually received. This is an arrangement or invention by which the local societies and the regional banks will be provided with capital. The borrowers furnish their own capital. They must either do this or continue as they do now to pay private capital high interest rates. The 10 per cent which my bill requires borrowers to invest in stock of the local society is probably more than is necessary. But if a local society manages its affairs economically, the stock in these societies will pay high dividends, higher than the interest rate. But the investment of each borrower in stock in the society is what makes the whole system safe, and that is the thing which insures low rates of interest and an abundance of credit.

Mr. LOBECK. The real idea is to get cheap money at low interest for the man that needs it for producing crops?

Mr. MORGAN. The chief idea is this: If you were a farmer and wanted to borrow \$250, you would apply for membership in a local society. With the indorsement of two of your neighbors, the local society makes you a loan, indorses your note, becomes liable thereon, and then the whole system, comprising thousands of societies and 12 regional banks, with their tens of millions of dollars capital, become your indorser, and your note, however humble a man you may be, becomes as good as our national currency.

Mr. LOBECK. I thank the gentleman for giving me more credit than I have had for a long time. [Laughter.]

Mr. MORGAN. For his great interest in their behalf I am sure the American farmers will give the gentleman more "credit" than even I have given him.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. Are all of the local organizations responsible for the debts of each other?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes; in case their own assets will not pay it.

I wish before I close to discuss what I regard as a very important provision. It is the proposal to require, under reasonable limitations and all proper safeguards, Federal reserve banks to rediscount the farmers' notes.

REDISCOUNTING BY FEDERAL RESERVE BANKS.

One of the provisions which may develop controversy is that contained in section 9 of the bill which authorizes any Federal reserve bank to rediscount the notes of farmers when indorsed by the local society and the regional bank. This provision, I believe, is sound in principle and eminently just to the farmers and to our greatest industry, agriculture. Its adoption, in my judgment, would not introduce any element of danger in our national currency system. At present agriculture does not receive the aid from our national banking and currency system that such system extends to the great industrial and commercial interests of the Nation. This not only restricts the growth of agriculture, but it discriminates against the farmers who constitute more than one-third of our population.

Section 11 of the Federal reserve act provides:

Upon indorsement of any of its member banks, * * * any Federal reserve bank may discount notes, drafts, and bills of exchange arising out of actual commercial transactions; that is, notes, drafts, and bills of exchange issued or drawn for agricultural, industrial, or commercial purposes, or the proceeds of which have been used, or are to be used for such purposes, the Federal Reserve Board to have the right to determine or define the character of the paper thus eligible for discount within the meaning of this act. Nothing in this act contained shall be construed to prohibit such notes, drafts, and bills of exchange, secured by staple agricultural products, or other goods, wares, or merchandise, from being eligible for such discount.

There is a proviso in the paragraph which reads as follows:

Provided, That notes, drafts, and bills drawn or issued for agricultural purposes or based on live stock and having a maturity not exceeding six months, exclusive of days of grace, may be discounted in an amount to be limited to a percentage of the assets of the Federal reserve bank, to be ascertained and fixed by the Federal Reserve Board.

The meaning of the foregoing provisions is not very clear. The first clause of the first paragraph quoted seems to restrict the notes, drafts, and bills of exchange, which may be discounted by Federal reserve banks, to those "arising out of actual commercial transactions." The average loan made by a bank to the average farmer in the United States does not arise "out of actual commercial transactions," as that term is understood and construed. The second clause apparently enlarges on the first, but still gives the Federal Reserve Board the right to define "the character of the paper thus eligible for discount." I do not know to what extent the various provisions of this section have been construed, but evidently the entire matter is left to the judgment of the Federal Reserve Board.

The above provisions do, however, on their face, recognize the propriety, as well as the importance, of extending to the great industry of agriculture the assistance of the Federal reserve banks. As Congress has already recognized the propriety of requiring the Federal reserve banks to discount agricultural paper, it would seem there could be no valid objection to authorizing such banks to rediscount the notes of the farmer when indorsed by a local credit society and a regional bank.

The plan to have the Federal reserve bank rediscount the notes of farmers, when indorsed by a local credit society and a regional bank, is supported by very high authority in Europe. France has a system of short-term credit institutions corresponding almost identically with the plan of H. R. 8827, introduced by me. The local credit societies in the French system are known as the *Credit Agricole Mutuel*. Above the local credit societies there were, in 1912, 98 regional banks, at least one in each State or Province. The local societies secure funds by indorsing their paper and having the same discounted at the regional banks, which in turn rediscount the same with the Bank of France. Referring to the short-term farm credit system in France and the workings of the institutions created to promote such credit, Hon. Myron T. Herrick, in his book entitled "Rural Credits," on pages 335 and 336, says:

The regional banks are authorized to discount the negotiable instruments made by members of the local societies and indorsed by such societies and also to make loans to such societies for working funds. The paper having thus three signatures, those of the borrowing farmer, the local society, and the regional bank, is "bankable according to the commercial and banking code, and the regional bank may rediscount it at the Bank of France or at any other of the big credit institutions in France, provided the time is not over nine months."

In Senate Document No. 214, Sixty-third Congress, entitled "Agricultural Cooperation and Rural Credit in Europe," pages 651 and 653, inclusive, there is a statement made by M. Aupetit, chief of the department of economic studies to the Bank of France, relative to the Bank of France and the aid it renders the farmers. He says:

The Bank of France assists agriculture in three ways, which should be distinguished. First, it facilitates the individual agriculturists in securing loans and discounts. Second, it makes possible the success of agricultural credit banks and facilitates the rediscount which they offer the commercial banks. Third, it provided the government with funds in the form of an advance and an annual grant with which to supply the needs of the agricultural credit banks.

Again he says:

The Bank of France also makes every effort to assist the local banks, and has given pioneer assistance to the local credit banks. These local credit banks, as has been explained, have two functions. In the first place, they act as independent banks so far as their capital and deposits are concerned. The advance made by the State enables them to act as independent banks. As soon as the credit demands of their clients exceed their own resources, they render assistance to their members by rediscounting their bills at the Bank of France through the medium of the regional bank. While these banks usually rediscount with the Bank of France, it should be understood that they are free to rediscount them with any other bank they may select. * * * At the present time the Bank of France conducts regular discounting business with all of the 100 regional banks, and through them with more than 3,000 of the local cooperative credit banks. The third way in which the Bank of France assists agricultural credit in France is by granting large sums to the Government to be used to finance the local and regional credit banks.

SHORT-TERM FARM CREDIT IN GERMANY.

In Germany there are two chief systems of short-term cooperative credit institutions. One is the Schulze-Delitzsch system and the other is the Raiffeisen system. The latter is the largest factor in furnishing short-term credit to the farmers of Germany. In each of these there are local credit societies, State, provincial, or regional institutions, and a large central bank. In the Raiffeisen system the central institution is the Central Agricultural Loan Bank, which has 13 branches, which serve as regional banks and through which the local societies do business. The central institution, which serves the local credit societies, which do not belong to the Raiffeisen system, is the Prussian Central Cooperative Bank of Berlin, which Prussia founded and endowed with a capital of \$18,000,000.

Taking the short-term farm credit systems of the two great nations, France and Germany, as the best models from which to copy our system of short-term farm credit, we must have, first, local credit societies; second, regional banks of some kind, with which the local societies will do business; and, third, some kind of a central institution of large capital and resources, which will bring the individual farmer, through the local societies and the regional banks, in touch with the great reservoirs of credit of the nation. We must follow France, which utilizes the Bank of France for this purpose, or we must follow Germany, which has created and endowed a great central institution for this purpose. I believe the French policy is the better one. Our Federal reserve banks, in their position in our banking and currency and credit system, occupy the same position that the Bank of France occupies in the banking, currency, and credit system of France. I am, therefore, in favor of making our Federal reserve banks an important factor in providing suitable short-term credit to the farmers of the United States, and thus giving the 6,500,000 farmers of the United States a front seat in our great national banking, currency, and credit system.

APPENDIX A.

A bill (H. R. 8827) to provide short-term credit for the farmers of the United States, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted, etc., That the short title of this act shall be "The national farm-credit act." Its administration shall be under the direction of the Federal Farm Loan Board, which shall have the same power of supervision and control over national farm-credit banks and Federal farm-credit societies, created under this act, that it has over Federal land banks and national farm-loan associations created under the "Federal farm-loan act." That the provisions of said last-named act, in so far as they may be applicable and not in conflict with the provisions of this act, are hereby reenacted and made applicable to national farm-credit banks, Federal farm-credit societies, their directors, officers, assistants, clerks, other employees, persons, and corporations, and the provisions of sections 29, 31, 33, and 34 are hereby specifically reenacted and made applicable as aforesaid.

The Federal Farm Loan Board shall fix what proportion of the expense of operating the Federal land bank and the national farm-credit bank of each Federal land-bank district shall be paid by each of said banks.

DEFINITIONS.

SEC. 2. That the term "farm-credit debenture" shall be held to include all debentures secured by collateral deposited with the farm-loan registrar under the terms of this act; the terms "national bank" and "national banking association," used in this act, shall be held to be synonymous and interchangeable; and the term "member bank" shall be held to mean any national bank, State bank, or bank or trust company which has become a member of one of the reserve banks created by the Federal reserve act, approved December 23, 1913.

FARM-LOAN REGISTRAR.

SEC. 3. That the farm-loan registrar of each Federal land bank district shall bear the same relation with reference to the national farm-credit bank of said district, and the issue of farm-credit debentures, that he now bears with reference to the Federal land bank of said district, and the issue of farm-loan bonds, and said registrar shall exercise similar powers and perform similar duties relative thereto in addition to duties specifically prescribed herein.

NATIONAL FARM-CREDIT BANKS.

SEC. 4. That there is hereby created in each Federal land-bank district a national farm-credit bank, with its principal office located in the same city and in the same building wherein the Federal land bank of said district is located.

The directors of each Federal land bank, at the time of the passage of this act, shall be the temporary directors of the national farm-credit bank in the Federal land-bank district wherein such national farm-credit bank is located. They shall give such bonds, receive such com-

pensation as the Federal Farm Loan Board shall prescribe, and from their number the Federal Farm Loan Board shall choose a president, vice president, secretary, and treasurer of said board. Thereafter each national farm-credit bank and each Federal land bank located in the same Federal land bank district shall be under the management of the same directors, who shall utilize, so far as practical, the same officers, attorneys, experts, assistants, clerks, laborers, and other employees in the management of the business of said banks.

The said temporary directors shall make an organization certificate, containing in substance that which is required in the organization of Federal land banks as provided in section 4 of the Federal farm-loan act, and upon duly making and filing of said organization certificate the bank shall become as from the date of the execution thereof a body corporate, and as such and in the name designated in said certificate shall have the same powers as are conferred upon Federal land banks in the aforesaid section 4 of said "Federal farm-loan act," and such additional powers as may be herein granted.

Thereafter the board of directors of every Federal land bank and of every national farm-credit bank shall be selected as hereinafter specified and shall consist of nine members, each holding office for three years. Six of said directors shall be known as local directors, three of whom shall be chosen by and be representative of national farm-loan associations, and three of whom shall be chosen by and be representative of Federal farm-credit societies. The remaining three directors shall be known as district directors and shall be appointed by the Federal Farm Loan Board and shall represent the public interest. Any provision in section 4 of the Federal farm-loan act in conflict with the provisions of this paragraph is hereby repealed. No director, officer, or employee of any kind or character shall have any increase in his salary or pay by reason of being in the service of both the said banks, unless authorized by the Federal Farm Loan Board.

CAPITAL OF NATIONAL FARM-CREDIT BANKS.

SEC. 5. That every national farm-credit bank shall have, before beginning business, a subscribed capital stock of not less than \$1,000,000, divided into shares of \$5 each. That the provisions of section 5 of the Federal farm-loan act relative to subscriptions to the capital stock of Federal land banks, in so far as the same may be applicable, are hereby made applicable to subscriptions to the capital stock of national farm-credit banks.

If within 30 days after the opening of subscription books therefor any part of the minimum capital stock of \$1,000,000 shall remain unsubscribed, it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to subscribe the balance thereof on behalf of the United States, and the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and directed to take out shares corresponding to the unsubscribed balance and pay for the same out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

RESERVES AND DIVIDENDS.

SEC. 6. That the Federal Farm Loan Board shall prescribe what proportion of the net earnings of national farm-credit banks shall semi-annually be carried to the reserve account, what amount of reserve shall be maintained before dividends shall be paid, and prescribe at what time notes upon which payment of either interest or principal is in default shall be deducted from the assets thereof, and how the reserves of such banks shall be invested and safeguarded.

REPORTS.

SEC. 7. That the Federal Farm Loan Board shall annually make a full report of its operations and of the business, financial condition, assets, expenditures, number of employees, their salaries, and other appropriate information of each of the national farm-credit banks. Said report shall be made to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, who shall cause the same to be printed for the information of Congress.

National farm-credit banks shall make quarterly and annual reports to the Federal Farm Loan Board, including such information as shall be required by said board.

DEPOSITS, LOANS, AND INDORSEMENTS.

SEC. 8. That every national farm-credit bank may receive deposits, pay interest thereon, borrow money, loan its funds to Federal farm-credit societies, issue and sell debentures as provided in this act, indorse notes received from Federal farm-credit societies to any individual, bank or corporation, including any Federal reserve bank, for the purpose of having said notes discounted or rediscounted: *Provided*, That no Federal farm-credit society shall at any time borrow money or be indebted in a sum in excess of ten times the amount of its paid-up capital stock.

DISCOUNT BY FEDERAL RESERVE BANKS.

SEC. 9. That upon the indorsement of any member bank of the Federal Reserve System, or of any national farm-credit bank, any Federal reserve bank may rediscount notes taken by any Federal farm-credit society in the usual course of business, or the notes of such society which have a maturity, at the time of discount, of not more than one year.

GOVERNMENT DEPOSITARIES.

SEC. 10. That all national farm-credit banks organized under this act, when designated for that purpose by the Secretary of the Treasury, shall be depositaries of public money, except receipts from customs; they may also be employed as financial agents of the Government, and as such depositaries and agents shall perform all such reasonable duties as the Government may require.

Said banks may loan to Federal farm-credit societies such percentage of Government deposits as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, and under such conditions and regulations, with reference to the security therefor, as said Secretary may prescribe to insure the payments thereof.

SPECIAL DEPOSIT FOR LOAN PURPOSES.

SEC. 11. That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized to deposit with national farm-credit banks a sum of money not to exceed in the aggregate \$12,000,000 in any one calendar year to be loaned by said banks to Federal farm-credit societies in such amounts, at such rates of interest not to exceed 5 per cent per annum, with such security, and under such rules and regulations as shall be prescribed by the Federal Farm Loan Board with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury.

FARM-CREDIT DEBENTURES.

SEC. 12. That any national farm-credit bank may issue farm-credit debentures under the terms of this act, with the approval of the Federal Farm Loan Board, when application therefor is made through the farm-loan registrar. With said application said bank shall tender the said registrar, as collateral security, the notes of Federal farm-credit societies duly indorsed or assigned to said bank or United States Gov-

instrument or Federal farm-loan bonds, not less in aggregate amount than the sum of the debentures proposed to be issued.

On approval for an issue of farm-credit debentures, the said registrar shall proceed as soon as practicable thereafter to secure the execution of said debentures and the delivery thereof to said bank. The notes accepted as collateral security for the issue of farm-credit debentures shall be assigned to said registrar in trust and shall be held by him as collateral security for the payment thereof.

The Federal Farm Loan Board shall prescribe rules regulating the redemption of said notes or bonds, allowing the substitution of other notes and bonds for any portion thereof, and for the safeguarding of such securities in the hands of the registrar.

Debentures issued by any national farm-credit bank shall not exceed the amount of collateral security pledged therefor, or be more than ten times the amount of the capital stock of said bank.

The debentures shall be issued in denominations of \$10, \$25, \$50, \$100, \$500, and \$1,000, shall run for such time as may be prescribed by the Federal Farm Loan Board, shall bear a rate of interest not to exceed 5 per cent per annum, shall be in such form and in series of such amounts as the Federal Farm Loan Board shall prescribe, and may be issued as coupon bonds with coupons for interest payments attached or as registered bonds, and the same shall be interchangeable.

That the provisions of the Federal farm-loan act relative to the preparation, engraving, and delivery of farm-loan bonds are hereby made applicable to farm-credit debentures.

LIABILITY OF NATIONAL FARM-CREDIT BANKS.

SEC. 13. That every national farm-credit bank issuing farm-credit debentures shall be primarily liable therefor, and shall also be liable, upon presentation of farm-credit debenture coupons, for interest payments due upon any farm-credit debenture issued by other national farm-credit banks, and remaining unpaid in consequence of the default of such other national farm-credit bank; and every such bank shall likewise be liable for such portion of the principal of farm-credit debentures, so issued, as shall not be paid, after the assets of any such other national farm-credit bank shall have been liquidated and distributed: *Provided*, That such loss, if any, either of interest or of principal, shall be assessed by the Federal Farm Loan Board against solvent national farm-credit banks liable therefor in proportion to the amount of farm-credit debentures which each may have outstanding at the time of such assessment.

Every national farm-credit bank shall be primarily liable for all its contracts, debts, liabilities, and financial obligations of every kind and character; and every such bank shall likewise be liable for such portion of the debts, liabilities, and financial obligations of any other such bank which shall not be paid after the assets thereof shall have been liquidated and distributed: *Provided*, That such losses, if any, shall be assessed by the Federal Farm Loan Board against solvent banks liable therefor in proportion to the amount of their capital stock at the time of such assessment: *Provided further*, That the Federal Farm Loan Board may, by order duly made, create and establish a guaranty fund to which all such banks shall be required to contribute an equitable amount annually and from which shall be paid any of the debts, liabilities, and financial obligations of any such society after the assets thereof shall have been liquidated and distributed; but the creation of such guaranty fund shall in no way relieve any such bank from its liability to make further contribution under any assessment which shall be made by the Federal Farm Loan Board under the provisions of this section.

Every national farm-credit bank shall, by specific provision in its organization certificate, and by appropriate action of its board of directors, duly recorded in its minutes, obligate itself to become liable as provided in this section.

Farm-credit debentures shall be signed by the president of the bank issuing the same and attested by its secretary, and contain such other matter as may be prescribed by the Federal Farm Loan Board.

Coupon or interest payments upon debentures shall be payable at the national farm-credit bank by which they were issued, in gold or lawful money, and on payment shall be duly canceled by said bank. The Federal Farm Loan Board may authorize such payment at any national farm-credit bank or at any other bank.

The Federal Farm Loan Board may, by rule and regulation not inconsistent with the provisions of this act, further regulate the control of the issue and payment of farm-credit debentures and the application of payments thereon.

FEDERAL FARM-CREDIT SOCIETIES.

SEC. 14. That corporations, to be known as Federal farm-credit societies, may be organized by 10 or more natural persons under the provisions of this act and under such rules, regulations, and organization certificate as shall be prescribed by the Federal Farm Loan Board. Such application for incorporation shall be made in duplicate and transmitted to the national farm-credit bank of the Federal land-bank district in which said society is proposed to be incorporated. Said bank, after obtaining such information as desired, shall divide the county wherein the proposed society is located into districts. Thereafter but one of such societies shall be organized in each of the said districts so formed, except by special order of the Federal Farm Loan Board: *Provided*, That the said board may thereafter, upon proper showing and by order duly made, change the boundaries of said districts and either increase or decrease the number thereof. Any national farm-credit bank receiving an application for incorporation of a Federal farm-credit society, after dividing the county in which said society is to be located into districts as aforesaid, shall transmit one copy of the organization certificate to the Federal Farm Loan Board and retain the other copy thereof.

Upon duly making and filing its organization certificate with the Federal Farm Loan Board, the society shall become, as from the date of the execution of its organization certificate, a body corporate, and as such, and in the name designated in its organization certificate, it shall have power—

First. To adopt and use a corporate seal.

Second. To have succession until it is dissolved by act of Congress or under the provisions of this act.

Third. To make contracts.

Fourth. To sue and be sued, complain, interplead, and defend, in any court of law or equity, as fully as natural persons.

Fifth. To elect and appoint directors, and by its board of directors to elect a president and vice president, and appoint a secretary-treasurer and such other officers and employees as may be prescribed by the Federal Farm Loan Board.

Sixth. To prescribe by its board of directors, subject to the regulation of the Federal Farm Loan Board, by-laws not inconsistent with law.

Seventh. To exercise by its board of directors, or duly authorized officers or agents, all such incidental powers as shall be necessary to carry on the business of such society as herein authorized,

Eighth. To acquire and dispose of such property, real or personal, as may be necessary or convenient for the transaction of its business.

Ninth. To indorse, and thereby become liable for the payment of notes taken from its shareholders, to loan its funds to shareholders who are actively engaged in agriculture, for productive purposes only; to borrow money; and to transact such other business and perform such other acts as shall be provided in this act.

DIRECTORS AND OFFICERS.

SEC. 15. That Federal farm-credit societies shall be managed by a board of five directors, who shall be named in the organization certificate, and who shall serve until their successors shall be elected and qualified.

By a majority vote, such directors shall elect a president, vice president, and secretary-treasurer of said board. After the organization of such society, directors shall be elected by a majority vote of the stockholders of said corporation. In such election, and in all other business before the shareholders, each shareholder shall have but one vote. The secretary-treasurer may not be a director or shareholder in said society. Directors shall be citizens of the United States, residents of the State and county in which such corporation is located, and shall be persons actively engaged in the business of farming. They shall give such bonds as shall be prescribed by the Federal Farm Loan Board.

The duties of directors and officers of Federal farm-credit societies shall be such as are prescribed herein and such as usually pertain to directors and officers of national-banking associations, and they shall serve without salary.

It shall be the duty of the secretary-treasurer of every Federal farm-credit society to act as custodian of its funds, notes, securities, papers, records, and other property. The board of directors shall designate some State or National bank as the depository of the society. The secretary-treasurer shall deposit all the funds of the society in such depository and provide, either in such depository or elsewhere, some safe and secure place in which he shall keep the notes, securities, records, and papers of such society. He shall receive such compensation as shall be fixed by the directors, subject to the approval of the Federal Farm Loan Board.

DEPOSITORIES, LOANS BY NATIONAL BANKS.

SEC. 16. That every member bank of the Federal Reserve System, when designated as the depository of any Federal farm-credit society, is hereby required to act as such, and every State bank, when so designated, may act as such.

Any bank acting as the depository of a Federal farm-credit society shall pay such interest on the deposits of such society as shall be agreed upon. Every national or other bank is authorized to make loans to any Federal farm-credit society on such terms and security as may be agreed upon, and any State bank may make loans to the society when the same is not in violation of the laws of the State in which it is located.

Every national or other bank is authorized to act as secretary-treasurer of any Federal farm-credit society, and any State bank may so act when not in conflict with the laws of the State in which it is incorporated, and any officer of said banks may so act.

SUPERVISION.

SEC. 17. That the Federal Farm Loan Board shall provide for careful supervision and examination of Federal farm-credit societies and is authorized to make special rules and regulations to insure economical administration thereof.

REPORTS.

SEC. 18. That Federal farm-credit societies shall make monthly, quarterly, and annual reports to the national farm-credit bank of the district in which they are located, in such form and covering such information as shall be prescribed by the Federal Farm Loan Board.

CAPITAL STOCK OF FEDERAL FARM-CREDIT SOCIETIES.

SEC. 19. That every Federal farm-credit society shall have, before beginning business, a subscribed cash capital of not less than \$2,500, exclusive of capital subscribed by prospective borrowers.

The Federal Farm Loan Board is authorized to prescribe the times and conditions of the payment of subscriptions to the capital stock, to reject any subscription in its discretion, and to require subscribers to furnish adequate security for the payment thereof.

The capital stock of each Federal farm-credit society shall be divided into shares of \$1 each, and may be subscribed for and held by any individual, firm, or corporation, or by the Government of any county, municipality, State, or of the United States.

Stock held by borrowers of Federal farm-credit societies shall not be transferred or hypothecated, and the certificates therefor shall so state.

Stock owned by the Government of the United States in Federal farm-credit societies shall receive no dividends, but all other stock shall share in dividend distributions without preference.

It shall be the duty of the directors of every Federal farm-credit society, as soon as practicable after the charter for such society has been issued, to open books of subscription to the capital stock of said society. Every person subscribing to the capital stock thereof shall indicate whether or not he intends to become a borrower from said society. If within 30 days after the opening of said books any part of the minimum capitalization of \$2,500 herein prescribed for Federal farm-credit societies, exclusive of subscriptions made by prospective borrowers, shall remain unsubscribed, it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to subscribe the balance thereof on behalf of the United States, said subscription to be subject to call, in whole or in part, by the board of directors of said national farm-credit society upon 30 days' notice, with the approval of the Federal Farm Loan Board; and the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and directed to take out shares corresponding to the unsubscribed balance as called, and to pay for the same out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

It shall be the duty of the Federal Farm Loan Board to prescribe rules, regulations, and conditions upon which the Secretary of the Treasury shall pay for said stock, and may require the directors and officers of said society to give bond or other security for safeguarding said funds.

The Government of the United States shall have no vote for the shares of stock held by it at meetings of shareholders, but the Federal Farm Loan Board shall prescribe rules and regulations for the protection of the interests of the Government on account of stock held by it.

After the subscriptions to the capital stock of any Federal farm-credit society, exclusive of the amount subscribed by the Government of the United States, shall amount to \$25,000, the stock held by the Government of the United States shall be canceled and retired, and the said Government shall be paid the par value thereof. The retirement of said stock and the payment thereof to the Government shall be made semi-annually and shall cover such a period of years as shall be prescribed by the Federal Farm Loan Board.

Every Federal farm-credit society shall keep a certain amount of its capital stock in quick assets, the character of such assets and the amount thereof to be prescribed by the Federal Farm Loan Board, and said board shall further prescribe for any additional reserve fund to be kept and maintained by said society.

LOANS.

SEC. 20. That Federal farm-credit societies shall make loans only to shareholders who are farmers. No loan shall be made for less than \$10 nor for more than \$1,000 or for a longer time than one year. No loan shall be made to a shareholder in an amount greater than 10 times the paid-up capital stock he holds in said society. The stock held in such societies by any borrower therefrom shall not be transferable and shall be held as collateral security for the payment of any loan made to such borrower, but such shareholder shall be paid any dividends accruing on said capital stock while it is outstanding. Any shareholder who has been a borrower may on his request, on payment of his note in full, have his stock canceled, and he shall thereupon be paid an amount in cash equal to the par value of his stock, or have the same applied in final payment of his note, subject to any reduction that may be necessary to pay the proportionate share of said stock to meet any impairment of the capital of any society at the time payment may be made.

That before the organization certificate shall be issued to any Federal farm-credit society the national farm-credit bank under which said society is to operate may investigate the solvency and character of the applicants for such certificate, and then determine whether in their judgment a charter should be granted to it, and make report thereof for the action and approval of the Federal Farm Loan Board.

Any person desiring to borrow money from a Federal farm-credit society shall make written application to purchase stock in said society equal to one-tenth of the amount of the loan desired, and may reserve the right to pay for said stock out of the proceeds of said loan. No loan shall be made except on the written approval of at least three of the directors.

The directors of any Federal farm-credit society may appoint among its shareholders such committees as may be necessary to aid it in transacting its business.

Federal farm-credit societies are prohibited from incurring indebtedness for administration expenses which in any way impairs the minimum capital required in the organization of such societies.

Federal farm-credit societies in borrowing money, except when borrowing money from a national farm-credit bank, shall secure said loans by the notes of its members or by other collateral security; and in no case shall any sum be borrowed in excess of 90 per cent of the face value of the notes or other collateral securing said loan.

Every Federal farm-credit society, when it shall sell any of the notes of its members, or shall discount the same, shall set aside 10 per cent of the proceeds thereof to the reserve fund of the society, and the same shall be used thereafter only for such purpose or purposes as shall be provided for said reserve fund.

DEBTS AND OBLIGATIONS OF FEDERAL FARM-CREDIT SOCIETIES.

SEC. 21. That every Federal farm-credit society shall be primarily liable for all its contracts, debts, liabilities, and financial obligations of every kind and character; and every such society shall likewise be liable for such portion of the debts, liabilities, and financial obligations which shall not be paid after the assets of any other such society shall have been liquidated and distributed: *Provided*, That such losses, if any, shall be assessed by the Federal Farm Loan Board against solvent societies liable therefor in proportion to the amount of their capital stock at the time of such assessment: *Provided further*, That the Federal Farm Loan Board by order duly made may create and establish a guaranty fund to which all Federal farm-credit societies shall be required to contribute an equitable amount annually and from which shall be paid any of the debts, liabilities, and financial obligations of any such society after the assets thereof shall have been liquidated and distributed, but the creation of such guaranty fund shall in no way relieve any Federal farm-credit society from its liability to make further contribution under any assessment which may be made by the Federal Farm Loan Board under the provisions of this section.

Every Federal farm-credit society shall in its application for incorporation assume the financial liability provided in this section and its organization certificate shall so specify.

RESPONSIBILITY OF SHAREHOLDERS.

SEC. 22. That shareholders of every Federal farm-credit society shall be held individually responsible, equally and ratably and not one for another, for all contracts, debts, and engagements of such society to the extent of the amount of stock owned by them at the par value thereof. Stock held in Federal farm-credit societies shall not be transferable.

The stock held by any shareholder in any Federal farm-credit society shall be held in trust by such society to meet the obligations of any shareholder as a member of said society, and shall be exempt from any debt, judgment lien, execution, attachment, or other process issued out of any State court, or out of any court of the United States.

EXEMPTION FROM TAXATION.

SEC. 23. That every national farm-credit bank and every Federal farm-credit society, including the capital and reserve or surplus thereof, and the income derived therefrom, shall be exempt from Federal, State, municipal, and local taxation, except taxes upon real estate held, purchased, or taken by said bank or society, under the provisions of this act.

Notes and other legal obligations executed to Federal farm-credit societies, or to national farm-credit banks, and farm-credit debentures issued under the provisions of this act shall be deemed and held to be instrumentalities of the Government of the United States, and as such they, and the income derived therefrom, shall be exempt from Federal, State, municipal, and local taxation.

LOANS BY FEDERAL FARM-CREDIT SOCIETIES.

SEC. 24. That any Federal farm-credit society desiring to borrow money of a national farm-credit bank shall execute its note, duly signed by the president of the board of directors and the secretary-treasurer of said society, and shall transmit as collateral security therefor the duly indorsed notes of its shareholders, in amount not less than the face of the loan applied for, and shall subscribe for stock in said national farm-credit bank in an amount equal to one-tenth of the face of said loan, which stock shall be held in trust as collateral security for the payment of said loan.

That when payments of interest or principal shall be made on any such note, the same shall be held as a trust fund for the payment of such notes and the note of the Federal farm-credit society secured

thereby. All such payments shall be forthwith credited on the note of the society and the note of the shareholder paying the same.

RATE OF INTEREST.

SEC. 25. That Federal farm-credit societies shall not charge a rate of interest in excess of 6 per cent per annum.

National farm-credit banks shall not charge any Federal farm-credit society a rate of interest in excess of 5½ per cent per annum, and in no case shall any national farm-credit bank charge a Federal farm-credit society a rate of interest which exceeds by more than one-half of 1 per cent annually the rate of discount paid by said bank, or the rate of interest it pays on borrowed money.

LOAN COMMITTEE.

SEC. 26. That the president, vice president, and one other director, to be elected by the board of directors, shall constitute the loan committee of each Federal farm-credit society. Said committee shall investigate and report upon the character of each applicant for a loan, and as to the security offered therefor. No loan shall be made except upon the approval of a majority of the board of directors.

SECURITY FOR LOANS.

SEC. 27. That Federal farm-credit societies shall make loans only when secured as follows:

- (a) By the signature of two responsible indorsers.
- (b) By a chattel mortgage upon personal property worth at least double the amount of the loan.
- (c) By a chattel mortgage upon growing crops when secured also by at least one responsible indorser.
- (d) By the delivery of bonds, notes, or other securities in such amount and of such character as shall afford ample security for the loan.
- (e) By such other security as may be prescribed by the Federal Farm Loan Board.

REPEALING CLAUSE.

SEC. 28. That all acts or parts of acts inconsistent with this act are hereby repealed, and this act shall take effect upon its passage. The right to amend, alter, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

Mr. HAUGEN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. JUUL].

Mr. JUUL. Mr. Chairman, some years ago as a member of a senatorial committee in my State, I visited the State University at Champaign and Urbana. Among the interesting things shown to the senators were certain machines for testing the resisting powers of wood and metals.

I remember certain machines for testing timber; an upright piece of wood several feet long and probably 6 inches by 6 inches was placed in this machine and pressure was applied. Over the machine was an indicator, like a steam gauge, that recorded hundreds and thousands of pounds of pressure applied to the wood by the machine. I believe that finally, under ever so many thousand pounds of pressure, the fiber in the wood gave way and, technically speaking, it "failed." The test had shown the number of thousands of pounds that that particular kind of wood could stand. Under the Constitution and laws of the United States it was contemplated that the enormous pressure that this world war is forcing upon the Congress was to be divided in approximately 434 parts, each part or unit of the House to stand at least a share of it, so that no single man should go to pieces or fail, either physically or mentally, trying to stand up under the strain all alone or by himself. [Laughter.]

But by virtue of some system probably in vogue for many years, before I and many of the gentlemen came here, it seems that the burden of the Government unjustly rests upon a very few gentlemen. I am now judging the situation by reading the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, where I find that one gentleman addressed the House and had his name printed in the RECORD 118 times in one single day. [Laughter.]

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JUUL. Oh, I will be through in half a minute.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Does the gentleman think it is entirely fair to make these remarks in the absence of the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD]?

Mr. JUUL. I have mentioned no names. I want to say to the gentleman that once we had a police official out in Chicago who called the policemen together one morning in the squad room and said, "I am not going to mention any names, but if Schultz don't stop drinking, some policeman is going to lose his star." [Laughter.]

The question that is naturally agitating my mind is whether the one man or the few men having to stand the enormous strain have failed under it, or whether the four hundred and thirty-odd gentlemen have failed under the strain of watching the few gentlemen fail under the system of placing this enormous burden upon the shoulders of half a dozen men. As a failure it is best illustrated by the fact that the great number of men in the House have become so tender-hearted that the moment the grind starts and the few gentlemen start in addressing the House, thereby assuming all the burdens, all the rest of the Members desert the Hall and walk out of the building. [Laughter.] Did I say walk? No; I was mistaken; they do not walk out, they run out; and it is necessary to ring a bell

three times to bring them back, and when they do come back and find that the same four or five gentlemen are still under the pressure, trying to carry the burden that 433 men should divide and carry, these four hundred-odd men immediately, when they have responded to their names, feel so badly that as soon as they have answered "Here" to the call of their names, they again run out, feeling that things are being attended to so much better than they could possibly attend to them. [Laughter.]

If one of the gentlemen who has come over to respond to his name should for a moment forget himself and ask for permission to help carry the burden and watch the indicator, helping the few gentlemen to stand the strain, he is immediately jumped on, sat on, and squelched, and in unmistakable manner informed that the proper place for the four hundred-odd gentlemen is over in the House Office Building addressing envelopes and mailing seeds to their constituents in the rural districts. [Laughter.]

It is the hopeless situation created which compels the four hundred-odd gentlemen to come over and watch the indicator over the machine that is squeezing both the physical and mental life out of the half dozen gentlemen that have succeeded in emptying the Hall of Congress so that the average business is being transacted with about 30 gentlemen present. Count them now!

And to my mind the indicator is pointing out that 100 times a day for one gentleman, no matter what his attainments, is too much of a physical and mental strain, both for the gentleman who is to be under the terrific pressure and also for the four hundred-odd gentlemen who have to watch him to the point of breaking or failure. And let us be fair with one another. What would happen to a manager if he was running the biggest and best show on earth if he would send his star performer out to address the audience 118 times in a single evening? His show would "bust"; that is all. [Laughter.]

When all other means have failed to drive the Members away from the debates and back to the House Office Building the following may be tried successfully, and was tried the other day: A gentleman not of the select few has the audacity to attempt to participate in the debate and he is squelched by one of the select gentlemen in this manner: "Has not the gentleman illustrated the fact that a little learning is sometimes a very dangerous thing?"

In other words, a colleague on the floor is willing to hold up a brother Member as ignorant in order to take the "pep" and grit out of him and thus prevent him from ever coming back; and the gentleman who has used the floor over a hundred times in a single day rises and objects to another Member having a few minutes of the time of the House.

Verily, advertising is a good thing; and verily, I say unto you that he who bloweth not his own horn, his horn it shall not be blowed. But is there not such a thing as blowing a horn a little too often? [Laughter.]

Gentlemen, I want to say this: I have come over on this floor and I have meant to participate. I have meant to work. I never was a shirker. I was the chairman of the committee on the judiciary in the senate of my State for a number of years, and I worked night and day; but I tell you it is mighty humiliating and awfully hard for all the new people to come in and be sat on and made to feel that they are not wanted. I do not mean to say that it is the intention of anybody to make any gentleman walk out of this Hall with that feeling in his heart; but I want to tell you that I have done it time and again when I have seen the younger Members stand up here only to have somebody sit on them because they knew the ins and outs of this business and the younger ones did not. I want to conclude by saying that you gentlemen who sit here and transact business every day are putting an entirely wrong gauge on the other fellows by thinking they are ignorant because they are silent. [Applause.]

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Chairman, I regret very much that the gentlemen to whom this speech might seem to appeal are not present, but I hope they will read it in the Record to-morrow.

Mr. JUUL. I want to say to the gentleman that I have not mentioned any names. I wanted particularly to refrain from doing so.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. Crisp, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee had had under consideration the bill H. R. 9054, the

agricultural appropriation bill, and had come to no resolution thereon.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED.

Mr. LAZARO, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that they had examined and found truly enrolled bill of the following title, when the Speaker signed the same:

H. R. 195. An act providing for the sale of the coal and asphalt deposits in the segregated mineral land in the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations, Okla.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 22 minutes p. m.), in accordance with the order heretofore made, the House adjourned until to-morrow, Friday, January 25, 1918, at 11 o'clock a. m.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1. A letter from the chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, transmitting a preliminary report on the hide and leather situation, stating certain facts ascertained in an investigation of hides, leather, and leather products undertaken by the commission's resolution of December 31, 1917 (H. Doc. No. 857); to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and ordered to be printed, with illustration.

2. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting copy of a communication from the Commissioners of the District of Columbia submitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation required for the repair of the fire boat of the fire department for the fiscal year 1918 (H. Doc. No. 858); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. GREEN of Iowa (by request): A bill (H. R. 9215) imposing and levying a direct tax upon the real and personal property in the United States for the amount of each liberty loan during the present war; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DUPRÉ: A bill (H. R. 9216) to construct and equip a lighthouse depot for the eighth lighthouse district at New Orleans, La., or vicinity; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. PADGETT: A bill (H. R. 9217) to increase temporarily the enlisted strength of the Navy, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. BROWNE: A bill (H. R. 9218) to repeal an act entitled "An act to establish a uniform system of bankruptcy throughout the United States," approved July 1, 1898, and all amendments thereto; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DIES: A bill (H. R. 9219) to authorize the construction of a dam or dams, a lock or locks, and other works and constructions in and across Sabine Lake, at or near its mouth where it enters Sabine Pass, or at or near the mouth of the Neches and Sabine Rivers and between the said rivers, or at or near the mouth of either the Neches and Sabine Rivers, to conserve the freshness of the waters of the Neches and Sabine Rivers, or either of them, and to prevent the inflow of salt water into said rivers, or either of them; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. HILLIARD: A bill (H. R. 9220) to establish the Denver National Park, in the State of Colorado, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. ZIHLMAN: A bill (H. R. 9221) to increase the limit of cost and provide for the reconstruction of the Federal building at Hagerstown, Md.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. COX: A bill (H. R. 9222) granting increases of pensions to soldiers of the Civil War under certain conditions; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. RAINEY (by request): A bill (H. R. 9223) to amend the war-revenue act in relation to taxation of legacies and inheritances, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. EMERSON: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 227) to pay the Garland Realty Co. rent for use of building for armory; to the Committee on Claims.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BUTLER: A bill (H. R. 9224) for the relief of Lieut. Richard Philip McCullough, United States Navy; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. CRAMTON: A bill (H. R. 9225) granting an increase of pension to Quail Erity; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. COX: A bill (H. R. 9226) granting a pension to George W. Conrad; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 9227) granting a pension to Hamilton T. Farris; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 9228) granting a pension to Henry T. Henson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 9229) granting a pension to Louis Lady; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. DICKINSON: A bill (H. R. 9230) granting an increase of pension to Henry C. Snyder; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. GLYNN: A bill (H. R. 9231) granting a pension to John M. Culver; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HAWLEY: A bill (H. R. 9232) for the relief of Francis M. Myers or Francis Meyer; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HERSEY: A bill (H. R. 9233) granting an increase of pension to George B. McKechnie; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. KELLEY of Michigan: A bill (H. R. 9234) to correct the military record of Frederick M. Phelps; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. LOBECK: A bill (H. R. 9235) granting an increase of pension to John H. Travis; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. OVERMYER: A bill (H. R. 9236) granting a pension to Dorcas A. Wilcox; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Miss RANKIN: A bill (H. R. 9237) granting a pension to Nick Hoffman; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 9238) granting a pension to Claude Wallace; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 9239) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to issue patent to G. H. Beckwith for certain land within the Flathead Indian Reservation, Mont.; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. ROMJUE: A bill (H. R. 9240) granting an increase of pension to Dwight Simpson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SELLS: A bill (H. R. 9241) granting a pension to Joseph H. Waters; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SNOOK: A bill (H. R. 9242) granting an increase of pension to David Johnson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 9243) granting a pension to Elizabeth Carter; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 9244) granting a pension to Robert S. Peterson; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 9245) for the relief of William L. Wiles; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. WATSON of Pennsylvania: A bill (H. R. 9246) granting an increase of pension to Pearl Gertrude George; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By the SPEAKER (by request): Memorial of Hawaiian Protective Association, relative to prohibition in Hawaii; to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

By Mr. CARY: Memorial of Milwaukee (Wis.) Pharmaceutical Association, favoring the Edmonds bill relative to Government recognizing pharmacy in the Army and Navy; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. DALE of New York: Petition of the West Disinfecting Co., New York City, favoring Senator CALDER's daylight-saving law; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, resolution of the chamber of commerce, Dover, N. J., protesting against increase of postage rates to periodicals; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of R. J. Caldwell & Co., urging the passage of the Chamberlain bill for universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of Massachusetts Dairyman's Association, demanding the repeal of the postal-rates law with respect to periodicals; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, resolution of the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union of America, adopted at its annual meeting at Jonesboro, Ark., earnestly protesting against any form of universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of Buffalo Chamber of Commerce, Buffalo, N. Y., suggesting a treaty to provide for the diversion of additional power at Niagara Falls; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of the American Defense League of New York City, urging the passage within two weeks of an adequate food-conservation bill as a military necessity; to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, resolution of the board of representatives of the Federal Employees' Union No. 2, Washington, D. C., protesting against the recommendation of the Postmaster General that the right of postal employees to organize be withdrawn; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, petition of I. T. Cross, Seattle, Wash., urging an increase of pensions to those veterans of the Civil War not in soldiers' homes; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. FULLER of Illinois: Petition of L. H. Schafer & Co., of Chicago, Ill., opposing repeal of the second-class postage provisions of the war-revenue act; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of Bernard C. Steiner, librarian of the Enoch Pratt Free Library, of Baltimore, opposing the zone system for second-class postal rates; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, petition of I. T. Cross, of Seattle, Wash., favoring increase of Civil War pensions; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, memorial of Sons and Daughters of Liberty, favoring the Burnett bill (H. R. 5667), relative to deportation of certain aliens, etc.; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. HAMILTON of New York: Affidavits to accompany H. R. 8878, granting a pension to Mary Bursee; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, affidavits to accompany H. R. 8876, granting a pension to Eliza Hess Smith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LINTHICUM: Petition of G. D. Crawford; C. S. Dell, president of John J. Greer & Co.; J. A. Bokel Co.; Maurice M. Osing; and the Melvale Distillery Co., all of Baltimore, Md., protesting against any reduction in postage rates for second-class matter; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, a letter from the librarian of the Enoch Pratt Free Library and resolutions adopted by the Maryland State Federation of Women's Clubs, asking that the zonal postal rates for periodicals be repealed; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of M. Bates Stephens, secretary Maryland State Board of Education, favoring Senate bill 18, providing for a department of education with a secretary of education in the President's Cabinet; to the Committee on Education.

Also, petition of the Henry S. Wampole Co., protesting against the repeal of the present bankruptcy law; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, petition of Maryland Council of Defense, asking that the franking privilege of the Government be extended to members of the National Council of Defense and to the chairman of every State council of defense; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, a memorial from the Garrison Boulevard Improvement Association, Baltimore, Md., favoring the Madden bill, House bill 1654; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, memorial of Federal Employees' Union No. 21 and the Baltimore Federation of Labor, urging the early passage of House bill 7356; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania: Resolutions adopted by the Lauderdale Board of Trade, urging Government improvement of the Florida Coast Line Canal; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. RAKER: Memorial of J. B. Snyder, of Los Angeles, Cal., urging action to secure a greater supply of coal; to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, memorial of Chamber of Commerce of Los Angeles, Cal., relative to punishment of disturbers of peace of our Government; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of Half Century Club of America, Los Angeles, Cal., relative to appointment of Federal Interest Commission; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

Also, petitions of Federal Employees Union, No. 2, American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C., and Federal Trades Council, Eureka, Cal., against rulings of Postmaster General relative to privileges of post-office employees; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, memorial of San Francisco Labor Council, relative to higher compensation for postal employees; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, memorial of board of directors of the California State Automobile Association, relative to regulation of interstate use of automobiles; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. SULZER: Petition of Mr. Frank H. Newhall, advocating the passage of House bill 5010, relative to salaries of the United States Steamboat-Inspection Service; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. TAGUE: Memorial of board of representatives of Federal Employees Union No. 2, protesting against the withdrawal of the right of postal employees to organize in affiliation with other workers; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. VARE: Memorial of Federal Employees Union No. 2, against Postmaster General relative to organization by Government employees; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

FRIDAY, January 25, 1918.

The House met at 11 o'clock a. m.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O God our Father, who searchest the inmost recesses of the heart, turn on the Divine light, we beseech Thee, and help us to realize our deficiencies as individuals and as a Nation; that we may measure up to the larger life, revealed in the Lord Jesus Christ; and conscientiously and efficiently do the work Thou hast given us to do, leaving the results to Thee, who doest all things well; that we may have the approbation of our own conscience and at last receive the heavenly benediction, "Well done, good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord." For thine is the Kingdom and the power and the glory forever. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

AGRICULTURAL APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill H. R. 9054, the Agricultural appropriation bill.

The SPEAKER. The question is on going into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. LONDON. Mr. Speaker, I make a point of order that there is no quorum present.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York makes the point of order that there is no quorum present, and evidently there is not. The Doorkeeper will lock the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify absentees, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 299, not voting 129, as follows:

YEAS—299.

Alexander	Cary	Elliott	Hadley
Almon	Chandler, N. Y.	Ellsworth	Hamilton, Mich.
Anderson	Church	Elston	Hamlin
Ashbrook	Clark, Pa.	Emerson	Hardy
Aswell	Classon	Esch	Harrison, Miss.
Ayres	Claypool	Fairfield	Hastings
Bacharach	Collier	Fess	Haugen
Bankhead	Connally, Tex.	Fisher	Hawley
Barkley	Connolly, Kans.	Flood	Hayden
Barnhart	Cooper, W. Va.	Fordney	Hayes
Beakes	Cooper, Wis.	Foss	Heaton
Bell	Copley	Foster	Heilin
Beshlin	Cox	Francis	Helm
Black	Cramton	Freeman	Helvering
Blackmon	Crisp	French	Hensley
Blanton	Crosser	Fuller, Ill.	Hersey
Borland	Darrow	Fuller, Mass.	Hicks
Brand	Decker	Gallagher	Hilliard
Britten	Denison	Gallivan	Houston
Brodbeck	Denton	Gandy	Huddleston
Browne	Dewalt	Gard	Hull, Tenn.
Browning	Dickinson	Garner	Igoe
Brumbaugh	Dies	Garrett, Tenn.	James
Buchanan	Dill	Garrett, Tex.	Johnson, Ky.
Burnett	Dillon	Gillett	Johnson, Wash.
Burroughs	Dixon	Glass	Jones, Tex.
Butler	Domink	Glynn	Juul
Byrnes, S. C.	Doolittle	Goodall	Kearns
Byrnes, Tenn.	Doremus	Goodwin, Ark.	Keating
Campbell, Kans.	Doughton	Gordon	Kehoe
Campbell, Pa.	Dowell	Gould	Kelley, Mich.
Candler, Miss.	Drane	Graham, Ill.	Kelly, Pa.
Caraway	Dupré	Gray, Ala.	Kennedy, Iowa
Carew	Dyer	Green, Iowa	Kennedy, R. I.
Carter, Mass.	Eagle	Greene, Mass.	Key, Ohio
Carter, Okla.	Edmonds	Gregg	Kincheloe

King	Mays	Rogers	Stevenson
Kitchin	Meiritt	Romjue	Stiness
Knutson	Miller, Minn.	Rose	Strong
Kraus	Montague	Rouse	Summers
La Follette	Moon	Rowe	Sweet
Langley	Moore, Pa.	Rubey	Swift
Larsen	Moore, Ind.	Russell	Tague
Lazaro	Morgan	Sabath	Taylor, Ark.
Lee, Cal.	Neely	Sanders, Ind.	Taylor, Colo.
Lee, Ga.	Nelson	Sanders, La.	Temple
Lehibach	Norton	Sanders, N. Y.	Thomas
Lenroot	Oldfield	Saunders, Va.	Thompson
Leshner	Oliver, Ala.	Schall	Tillman
Lever	Oliver, N. Y.	Scott, Iowa	Timberlake
Linthicum	Osborne	Scott, Mich.	Tinkham
Little	Overmyer	Sears	Towner
Littlepage	Overstreet	Sells	Treadway
Lobeck	Padgett	Sherwood	Van Dyke
London	Palge	Shouse	Vestal
Lobergan	Park	Siegel	Vinson
Lufkin	Peters	Sims	Voigt
Lundeen	Phelan	Sinnott	Volstead
Lunn	Platt	Sisson	Waldow
McAndrews	Polk	Slayden	Walsh
McArthur	Powers	Slomp	Walton
McClintic	Pratt	Sloan	Wason
McCoormick	Purnell	Smith, Idaho	Watson, Pa.
McFadden	Quin	Smith, Mich.	Watson, Va.
McKeown	Ralney	Smith, C. B.	Webb
McKinley	Raker	Snell	Welling
McLaughlin, Mich.	Ramsayer	Snook	Welty
McLaughlin, Pa.	Randall	Snyder	White, Me.
McLemore	Rankin	Stafford	White, Ohio
Madden	Reavis	Stegall	Williams
Magee	Reed	Stedman	Wilson, Tex.
Mansfield	Robbins	Steele	Wingo
Mapes	Roberts	Steenerson	Young, N. Dak.
Martin	Robinson	Stephens, Miss.	Zihlman
Mason	Rodenberg	Sterling, Ill.	

NOT VOTING—129.

Anthony	Fairchild, G. W.	Kiess, Pa.	Scully
Austin	Farr	Kinkaid	Shackelford
Baer	Ferris	Kreider	Shallenberger
Bland	Fields	LaGuardia	Sherley
Booher	Flynn	Longworth	Small
Bowers	Focht	McCulloch	Smith, T. F.
Caldwell	Frear	McKenzie	Stephens, Nebr.
Cannon	Garland	Maher	Sterling, Pa.
Cantrill	Godwin, N. C.	Mann	Sullivan
Capstick	Good	Meeker	Switzer
Carlin	Graham, Pa.	Miller, Wash.	Talbot
Chandler, Okla.	Gray, N. J.	Mondell	Templeton
Clark, Fla.	Greene, Vt.	Morin	Tilson
Coady	Griest	Mott	Vare
Cooper, Ohio	Hamill	Mudd	Venable
Costello	Hamilton, N. Y.	Nicholls, S. C.	Walker
Crago	Harrison, Va.	Nichols, Mich.	Ward
Currie, Mich.	Haskell	Nolan	Watkins
Curry, Cal.	Heintz	Olney	Weaver
Dale, N. Y.	Holland	O'Shaunessy	Whaley
Dale, Vt.	Hollingsworth	Parker, N. J.	Wheeler
Dallinger	Hood	Parker, N. Y.	Wilson, Ill.
Davidson	Howard	Porter	Wilson, La.
Davis	Hull, Iowa	Pou	Winslow
Dempsey	Humphreys	Price	Wise
Dent	Husted	Ragsdale	Wood, Ind.
Dooling	Hutchinson	Ramsey	Woods, Iowa
Drukker	Ireland	Rayburn	Woodyard
Dunn	Jacoway	Riordan	Wright
Eagan	Johnson, S. Dak.	Rowland	Young, Tex.
Estopinal	Jones, Va.	Rucker	
Evans	Kahn	Sanford	
Fairchild, B. L.	Kettner	Scott, Pa.	

So the motion was agreed to.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

Until further notice:

Mr. YOUNG of Texas with Mr. GARLAND.

Mr. DALE of New York with Mr. DALE of Vermont.

Mr. VENABLE with Mr. DAVIDSON.

Mr. CALDWELL with Mr. WILSON of Illinois.

Mr. THOMAS F. SMITH with Mr. WARD.

Mr. CARLIN with Mr. AUSTIN.

Mr. WRIGHT with Mr. DAVIS.

Mr. STEPHENS of Nebraska with Mr. BLAND.

Mr. WHALEY with Mr. WHEELER.

Mr. SHERLEY with Mr. CANNON.

Mr. WATKINS with Mr. WOOD of Indiana.

Mr. BOOHER with Mr. TILSON.

Mr. SMALL with Mr. DEMPSEY.

Mr. TALBOTT with Mr. TEMPLETON.

Mr. CLARK of Florida with Mr. BOWERS.

Mr. WILSON of Louisiana with Mr. RAMSEY.

Mr. CANTRILL with Mr. WOODS of Iowa.

Mr. SULLIVAN with Mr. DUNN.

Mr. WISE with Mr. CHANDLER of Oklahoma.

Mr. WALKER with Mr. PARKER of New York.

Mr. COADY with Mr. WINSLOW.

Mr. STERLING of Pennsylvania with Mr. GEORGE W. FAIRCHILD.

Mr. WEAVER with Mr. GOOD.

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia with Mr. ANTHONY.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER with Mr. BENJAMIN L. FAIRCHILD.

Mr. GODWIN of North Carolina with Mr. MORIN.